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**JOURNAL**  
**OF THE**  
**AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.**

**EDITED BY**


**CHARLES C. TORREY,**  
Professor in Yale University,  
New Haven, Conn.

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**VOLUME 35**  
(The Volume for 1915)

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**THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,**  
**NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.**  
**1915-1917.**

 See the Note, page 319.

Parts 1—3 (pages 1—318), issued in 1915,  
were printed by W. Drugulin, Leipsic, Germany;  
Part 4 (pages 319—408), issued in December,  
1917, was printed by The Tuttle, Morehouse &  
Taylor Company, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.

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W9220/138

# JOURNAL

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## AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

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CHARLES C. TORREY, AND HANNS OERTEL

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VOLUME 35 · PART I · JULY 1915.

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THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.  
1915

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*Notes on the Phonology of the Palau Language.* — By  
CARLOS EVERETT CONANT, Professor in the University  
of Chattanooga, Tenn.

1. *Geography.*—The group of twenty-six small islands known as Palau (Palao, Pelew, or Bälau)<sup>1</sup> lies to the West of the Carolines in the western Pacific at longitude 135 degrees East, and latitude five degrees North. About five hundred miles due West of the Palau group lies Mindanao, of the Philippine archipelago, and about 350 miles to the South the “head” of New Guinea. In 1899 Germany purchased the islands from Spain and since that time they have been considered a part of the Carolines. The population of the Palaus is, according to Fritz<sup>2</sup>, about four thousand.

2. *Bibliography.*—Keate, George. *An Account of the Pelew Islands.... Composed from the Journal and communications of Captain Henry Wilson and some of his officers who, in August 1783, were there shipwrecked in the “Antelope”*. London 1788. (The work concludes with a brief “Vocabulary of the Pelew Language” in which the native words are spelled according to English rules of orthography, e. g., too [Walleser tu] ‘banana’, aeem [Wall. oim] ‘five’. It was published in an anonymous French translation, *Relation des Iles Pelew*, in two volumes, 8vo, by Maradan, Paris, 1793, and in Spanish translation, *Relación de las islas Pelew*, by the bookseller Gómez Fuentenebro, Madrid, 1805).

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<sup>1</sup> Of these different spellings, Palau is the new (German) form, Palao the Spanish orthography, Pelew the form used by Keate, following Captain Henry Wilson, and still printed on English and American maps, while Bälau is the native pronunciation of the name according to Walleser (*Wörterb.*, part II, p. 82).

<sup>2</sup> Georg Fritz, *Die Zentralkarolinische Sprache* (being No. 29 of the *Lehrbücher des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*), Berlin 1911, p. 6.

Walleser, Bishop Salvator, Apost. Vicar of the Caroline and Marianne Islands. *Grammatik der Palausprache*, in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, Jahrg. XIV, Abt. 1, 1911, pp. 121-231.

Walleser, Bishop Salvator. *Palau Wörterbuch* in two parts: 1. *Palau-Deutsch*, 165 pp., and 2. *Deutsch-Palau*, 79 pp., with an appendix (pp. 81-98) of German-Palau conversational exercises. Hongkong, Typis Societatis Missionum ad Exteros, 1913.

Gabelentz, Georg von der, and Meyer, Adolf Bernhard. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Melanesischen, Mikronesischen und Papuanischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1882.

The Palau words in this study are taken, except as otherwise indicated, from Walleser.

3. *Palau sounds*.—According to Walleser (*Gram.*, p. 122) the sounds of Palau may be represented by the following characters:

Vowels: a, ä, e, i, o, ö, u, ü.

Consonants: b, ch, d, g, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t.

These signs have their German sounds, except as indicated in a subjoined list of *Abweichungen* which I here summarize:

(a) *eu* is not a diphthong, the two vowels being distinctly pronounced, e. g., *pegéu* 'courageous'.

(b) *ôa* is nearly equivalent to *a* in Eng. *all*, e. g., *togóal* 'tobacco'. In *oá* the vowels are pronounced separately, *soák*, 'my will'.

(c) Vocalic doubling indicates lengthening only, as in Ger. *Saal*, e. g., *diil* 'abdomen'.

(d) *ch* as in Ger. *suchen*, e. g., *chútem* 'land' (*k* or *c* in Keate).

(e) *d* final and preceding or following a consonant is a spirant similar to Eng. *th*, e. g., *mad* 'to die', *dmak* 'together', and has a tendency to become this spirant in all positions. Keate wrote *th* everywhere, e. g., *catheil* (Wall. *chadíl*) 'mother', *thingarínger* (Wall. *dengerénger*) 'malicious, mischievous', *math* 'to die'. But it does not appear from either of these sources whether the spirant is surd, as in Eng. *thing* (Goth. *þ*), or sonant, as in Eng. *this* (Mod. Greek *ð*). Walleser says the Palau children often mispronounce it as *d* in positions where it should sound *th*. This would seem to point to the sonant spirant *ð*, as in *this*. On the other hand the *th* of Palau words

in Keate's vocabulary, collected 130 years ago, was probably understood by Captain Wilson and his officers as a voiceless spirant, at least when final, witness the spelling *cokeeth* (cf. *teeth*), and not *cokeethe* (cf. *teethe*); *outh* (cf. Eng. *uncouth*, *th* = *p*), and not *outhe* (cf. Eng. *soothe*, where *th* is sonant). Keate would have had no scruples in using final silent *e* to show the sonancy of *th* on the analogy of Eng. *teethe*, *soothe*, since he uses it elsewhere to assist in showing the pronunciation of a preceding consonant, e. g., in *yarse* 'sail' (Walleser *äars*) to show that the *s* is the surd sibilant, as in *sparse*, and not *z* as in Eng. *cars*, so *kowse* (Walleser *cháus*) 'lime'. The sound doubtless has changed somewhat since Wilson's discovery of the islands, and probably, as is true of the labial and palatal stops in Palau, is pronounced now as a surd, now as a sonant.

(f) *ng* = *ñ* (*ng* in Eng. *singer*, never as in Eng. *finger*)<sup>1</sup>.

(g) *s* as in German; but W. does not say whether it is the surd sibilant as in *es ist*, or the sonant *z* sound of *diese sind*, or whether it is sometimes the one and sometimes the other according to position, as in German. It is, however, presumably the surd. That is certainly the pronunciation of Wilson's Palau islanders, since Keate nowhere writes a *z* in his vocabulary, but frequently writes *ss* to show that the *s* has not the sonant sound, as in *oyless* 'knife'. When preceding or following *u* or following *ll*, *s* approaches the sound of *sh*, e. g., *ouseuáú* 'to whistle', *gedólls* 'corpulent', cf. Eng. *sure*, *sugar*.

(h) Doubling of a consonant indicates a long single consonant, as in Italian, e. g., *mellómes* 'bright' (cf. Ital. *bello*).

(i) Unaccented vowels are as a rule so indistinctly pronounced as to lose their distinctive character.

(j) It is often difficult to distinguish the sonants *b* and *g* from their corresponding surds *p* and *k*. This is at once seen by comparing the vocabularies of Walleser and Keate. For 'sleeping mat or cover' the former has *bar*, the latter *parr*, and conversely, Walleser gives the word for 'star' as *a pduch*, while Keate spells it *abbthduk*.

So great have been the changes in the phonological develop-

<sup>1</sup> In all non-Palau examples I write *ñ*, while leaving Walleser's *ng* unchanged. Had I changed his orthography in this case it would have been necessary to make other changes for the sake of consistency, e. g., *ï* for *ii*, *χ* for *ch*, and this, for various reasons, I have not considered advisable.

ment of the Palau language from the primitive Indonesian speech that the appearance of most Palau words gives no clue to their original forms. In the case of some half dozen words like Pal. *mad* (IN *matai*) 'die', and Pal. *kid* (IN *kita*) 'we' (inclusive), the relation is sufficiently apparent, but no one would at first sight suspect the IN origin of Pal. *gall* 'food', though it is identical with Tag. *kanin*, Bis. *kan'on*. So with Pal. *déi* (IN *tělu*) 'three', *chad* (IN *atai*) 'liver', *diil* (IN *tian*) 'abdomen', *ngau* (IN *apui*, *api*) 'fire'.

4. *Erosion of unaccented vowels*.—In contrast with the erosion of consonants and preservation of vowels which is characteristic of the Polynesian languages, Palau, like many other Micronesian—and Melanesian—languages, suffers a weakening and loss of unaccented vowels, while it preserves *all* the consonants of the IN prototypes, though these have, of course, been changed in character as detailed below. In this latter respect the other Micronesian and the Melanesian languages differ from Palau in that they generally lose at least one of two or more consonants in a word. The whole matter may well be illustrated by IN *ikan* 'fish', as it develops in various Oceanic territories. In Hawaiian and Tahitian *ia* both consonants are lost. In Samoan *i'a* a trace of the *k* is left in the *hamza* or glottal stop. Fiji *ika* loses only the final *n*, while the latter half of the word is lost in Marshall *iek*, and Central Carolinian *ik*. Palau, on the other hand, preserves all the consonantal elements of *ikan* in the form *ngigel*, where IN *n* regularly becomes *l*. The *e* is a weak, colorless vowel serving as a glide between *g* and *l*. Another example is IN *manuk* 'bird, fowl', Palau *malk*, but Cent. Car. *mān*, Polyn. *manu*.

Indonesian final vowels and diphthongs, if unaccented in Palau, are regularly lost, *e. g.*, IN *batu*: Pal. *bad* 'stone'; IN *mata* 'eye' and *matai* 'die' both become Pal. *mad*; IN *atai*: Pal. *chad* 'liver'; Bisaya *babau*: Pal. *bab* 'over, above'.

Unaccented vowels in final syllables ending in a consonant are either lost entirely or retained as a weak, colorless vowel like the Javanese *pepet*, *e. g.*, IN *anak*: Pal. *ngalk* 'son, daughter'; IN *manuk*: Pal. *malk* 'bird, fowl'; Philip. *danum*: Pal. *ralm* 'water'; Tag., Bis. *dagum*: Pal. *rasm* 'needle'; Tag. *takut*: Pal. *dakt* 'fear'; IN *timur*, *timug*: Pal. *dims* 'east, south'; IN *ikan*: Pal. *ngigel* 'fish'; IN *bulan*: Pal. *búiel* 'moon'; IN *langit*: Pal. *eánged* 'sky'. But an original *pepet* is regularly retained, *e. g.*,

Philip. *inumën*: Pal. *ilümel* 'drink' (subst.); IN *ñipën*: Pal. *uügel* 'tooth'; IN *tarëm, talëm, tadëm*: Pal. *(ke)dórem* 'sharp'; IN *dëngër, dëngëg, dëngëh*: Pal. *(o)rënges* 'hear'; IN *dëkët*: Pal. *rëged* 'stick, cleave'. Likewise paroxytones ending in *a* + *hamza* retain the unaccented *a* of the ultima, e. g., Mal. *darah*: Pal. *rúsach* 'blood'; Mal. *nanah*: Pal. *lálach* 'pus'. For *hamza* in Pal. see 17.

5. *Accented vowels*.—Indonesian vowels that bear the accent in Palau regularly remain unchanged, e. g., IN *mata*: Pal. *mad*; IN *buña*: Pal. *bung* 'flower'; Tagalog *sínag*: Pal. *sils* 'rays of sun'; IN *dëkët*: Pal. *rëged* 'stick, cleave'; IN *ikan*: Pal. *ngigel*; IN *bulan*: Pal. *büiel*; IN *nana*: Pal. *lálach* 'pus'.

6. *Extent of consonantal change in Palau*.—Only two primitive consonantal sounds have remained entirely unaffected in Palau. These are *m* and the velar nasal *ñ*, e. g., IN *mata, timur* (*-g, -h*), *danum*: Pal. *mad, dims, ralm*; IN *ñipen, lanit, buña*: Pal. *uügel* (with metath.), *eüged, bung*.

Few, if any, languages of the entire Austronesian speech territory present such sweeping consonantal changes as we find here. This phenomenon, together with the further fact that all the original consonants are retained in some form, gives the Palau language a unique appearance as compared with its Oceanic neighbors. A most striking effect of this retention of consonants together with the loss of unaccented vowels is the multiplication of consonant combinations that look decidedly out of place in an Austronesian language, e. g., *bdibd, bldukl, bltkill, gsóus, klmüdel, klsakl, kdgmal, lmatk, pduch, tknged, tngmuth*.

7. *Indonesian k*.—Original *k* is sounded in Palau now as *k*, e. g., IN *kita*: Pal. *kid* 'we'; IN *tëkën*: Pal. *dëkel* 'pole'; IN *manuk*: Pal. *malk* 'fowl'; and now as *g*, e. g., IN *kutu*: Pal. *gud* 'louse'; IN *dëkët*: Pal. *rëged* 'stick, cleave'; IN *ikan*: Pal. *ngigel* 'fish'; IN *kayu*: Pal. *gar* 'tree, wood'. But the distinction between the surd and the sonant (*k* and *g*), as in the case of *p* and *b*, is vague and uncertain.

8. *Indonesian t*.—Original *t* becomes the sound written *d* by Walleser. It often is a spirant, probably the *th* in *then* (see above 3e).



	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
Mal.	timur 'East'	dims	'South'
Bisaya	túlug 'to sleep'	durs	'sleep' (subst.)
Bisaya	tá'i	dach	'excrement'
Phil.	tian	diil	'abdomen'
Bis.	talúm, tarúm	(ke)dórem	'sharp'
	těkěn	dékel	'pole'
	talíña	ding	'ear'
	tělu	(o)déi	'three'
	takut	dakt	'fear'
	atěp	chádou	'roof, thatched covering'
	batu	bad	'stone'
	pitu	uid	'seven'
	kutu	gud	'louse'
	kita	kid	'we' (inclusive)
	mata	mad	'eye'
	matai	mad	'die'
	atai	chad	'liver'
	lañit	eáged	'sky'
	děkět	réged	'stick, cleave'
	urat, ugat, uhat	ngurd	'vein, sinew'
Mal.	pahit, Tag. pa'it	(me)chuáched	'bitter'

Note: The original final *t* in Pal. *dakt* (IN *takut*) is preserved by surd assimilation to the preceding *k* (see below 19a).

9. *Indonesian p*.—Original *p* becomes *u*, which is blended with a following accented *u*.

	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
	pa'a, Mal. paha	uách	'leg'
	pitu	uid	'seven'
	pa'it, Mal. pahit	(me)chuáched	'bitter'
Bis.	puhun	uchúl	'trunk, beginning, origin'
	puki	uki(k)	'vulva'
	pukět	úked	'long sea-net'
	pusěr (-d)	údes	'navel'
	ěpat	oáng	'four'
	'apur (-g, -h)	cháus	'lime'
	apui	ngau	'fire'
	'atěp	chádou	'roof'
	nipěn	uingel	'tooth'

## Notes on the Phonology of the Palau Language.

The *ch* in the words of the table represents an older (see below 17).

*Cháus* and *ngau* do not exemplify a blending of *u* (<*p*) with the original *u* of *apur* and *apui*, but a loss of the (in Palau) unaccented vowel (see above 4) and the regular development of *p* to *u*.<sup>1</sup> The same is true of the unaccented initial *u* of *uchúl* (<*pu'un*, Bis. *puhun*) and *ukí(k)* (<*puki*).

In *oáng* (<*əpat*) and *chúdou* (<*atěp*) the obscure pepet has been partially assimilated to the following *u* (<*p*), which itself is reduced to a semivowel or mere glide in *oáng* and hence does not appear in the orthography.

In *uíngel* (<*nipěn*) we have manifestly a case of metathesis for *\*ngiuēl*, but not in *údes* (<*pusēr*, *pusěd*), where IN *s* regularly becomes *t* in Pal. (see below 13) and then tends to become the sonant *d*, while the final *s* goes back to a special type of the RLD consonant (see below 16b).

10. *Indonesian b*.—Original *b* wavers in Palau between *b* and *p*. Walleser gives *b* in many words where Keate and (particularly) Gabelentz and Meyer, quoting Semper<sup>1</sup>, write *p*, e. g., IN *batu*: Pal. (Wall.) *bad* (Semper) *pad* 'stone'; IN *bulan*: Pal. (Wall.) *búiel* (Keate) *pooyeer* 'moon'. Less commonly the reverse is the case, e. g., IN *bitu(ěn)*: Pal. (Wall.) *a pduch* (Keate) *a-bbthduk* 'star'.

	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
	<i>babui</i>	<i>bábi</i>	'swine'
Bis.	<i>ibabau</i>	<i>bab</i>	'over, above'
	<i>běnua</i> 'country'	<i>belú</i>	'village'
	<i>batu</i>	<i>bad</i>	'stone'
	<i>balai</i>	<i>blai</i>	'house'
	<i>bau, bahu</i>	<i>bau</i>	'odor'
	<i>bara, бага, baha</i>	<i>bas</i>	'charcoal'
	<i>bulan</i>	<i>búiel</i>	'moon'
Bis.	<i>bukid, Mal. bukit</i>	<i>búkel</i>	'hill, mountain'
	<i>buña</i>	<i>bung</i>	'flower'
	<i>běras, bėgas, bėhas</i>	<i>bras</i> (borr.?)	'rice'
	<i>rěba', gěba', hěba'</i>	<i>sibech</i>	'tear down'
	<i>'uban</i>	<i>chebál</i>	'gray hair'
Phil.	<i>ibėg</i>	<i>nguibes</i>	'desire'
	<i>abarat, -g-, -h-</i>	<i>ngobárd</i>	'West'
	<i>těbu</i>	<i>teb</i> (dep Semper)	'sugarcane'

<sup>1</sup> C. Semper, "Über die Palausprache" in *Korrespondenzblatt der deutschen Gesellschaft f. Anthr., Ethnol. u. Urgesch.* 1871, pp. 63-66.

<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
buku	puk	'knuckle'
bitu(ĕn)	pduch	'star'
bulu	pŭi	'hair (pubic)'

11. *Indonesian n*.—Original *n* becomes *l*, regularly in Palau.

	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
	nana'	lálach	'pus'
	nara, naga, naha	las	'nara' (a redwood tree)
	niur, niug, niuh	líus	'coconut'
	minum	melím	'to drink'
	inumĕn, Bis. imnun	ilúmel	'drink' (subst.)
	minatai	mlad	'dead'
	anak	ngalk	'son, daughter'
	manuk	malk	'fowl'
	danum, r-, l-,	rálm	'water'
Tag.	sinag	sils	'sun'
	tanĕm	dálem	'to plant'
	tina'i	delách	'intestines'
	bĕnua	beiú	'village'
	anai	ngal	'white ant'
	kanĕn	gall	'food'
	ina, Fiji tina	chadil	'mother'
	ĕnĕm	malóng	'six'
	bulan	búiel	'moon'
	tian	diil (pr. dīl)	'abdomen'
	ikan	ngigel	'fish'
	dalan, ralan, lalan	ráel	'way'
Mal.	hujan, Bis. ulan	chull (<churl)	'rain'
	tĕkĕn	dékel	'pole, pike'
	pu'un, Bis. puhun	uchúl	'trunk (tree), origin'
Mal.	dahan	ráchel	'branch'
Mal.	huban	chebál	'gray hair'
	-na	-(e)l	'his, her, its'

12. *Indonesian l*.—Original *l* (not to be confused with the *l* of the RLD series) becomes *i* (*e*), with a tendency to weaken to the semivowel *y* before vowels. It is absorbed by a following original *i*, if this is accented in Palau.

	Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
	lanit	eanged (yangeth S.)	'sky'
	layar, -g, -h	eárs (yarse K.)	'sail'
Maloh	lalas	eáes	'house fly'
	lima	im <*iim	'five'
	dalan, ralan	ráel	'way'
	bulan	búiel	'moon'
Phil.	ulëg	ngúüs <*ngúis	'snake'
	taliña	ding <*díing	'ear'
	bulu	púi	'hair (pubic)'
	tělu	déi	'three'
	walu	iái	'eight'
Tag.	labi	bei	'more'

In the last example *lábi* > *báli* > *bal* > *bai* > *bei*.

13. *Indonesian s*.—Original *s* regularly appears in Palau as *t*.

	Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
	ěsa, sa	tang	'one'
	sakai	tak	'to load on vehicle'
	p-in-ěsa	ulét	'prest out'
Phil.	asu	chat	'smoke'
	susu	tut	'uber'
	siu	tiu	'nine'
Tag. Bis.	sila (l < RLD)	tir	'they'

In IN *pinesa* the unaccented vowels *i* and *a* are lost, *p* becoming *u* and *n* becoming *l*, giving *ulét* by regular process.

14. *Indonesian y*.—Original *y* becomes *r*.

	Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
	'ayam	cháram	'animal'
	layar, layag	eárs	'sail'
	kayu	gerregár	'wood, tree'

*Gerregár* is from the reduplicated *kayukáyu* and is written *garagar* by Keate and *kirkar* by Semper. Keate gives the simple *gar* as meaning 'fire', cf. Bis. *kalayu* 'fire'.

15. *Indonesian RGH Consonant*.—The RGH consonant is regularly represented in Palau by *s*.

<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
Phil. gakět	sakt	'to tie'
Phil. gěba	sibech	'tear down'
Tag. gónot 'black oakum'	suld	'oakum'
Bis. bága 'ember'	bas	'coal'
Mal. darah	rásach	'blood'
Bis. dagum	rasm	'needle'
Bis. nága	las	'nara (tree)'
Bik. dúgi	rus	'spine, thorn'
Phil. apug	cháus	'quicklime'
Phil. niug	lius	'coconut'
layar, layag, layah	eárs	'sail'
Bis. tulug, turug	durs	'sleep'
Mal. timur, Bis. timug 'East'	dims	'South'
Mal. deñar, Tag. diñig	rénges	'hear'
Tag. sinag	sils	'sun'
Phil. ulěg	ngútús	'snake'
Phil. iběg	nguibes	'desire'

16. *Indonesian RLD Consonant*.—The RLD consonant regularly appears as *r*, except in the type represented by Jav. *pari*: Tag. *pálai*: Mal. *padi*: Toba Bat. *page*, Pangasinan *pagéi* 'unhulled rice', which we may for convenience call the *g*-type, where Palau, like certain other languages of Austronesia, *e. g.*, Manggara and Samoan, has *s*.

(a) *RLD, except g-type.*

<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
Phil. danum, ranum	ralm	'water'
Phil. dalan, ralan	ráel	'way'
Bis. dagum	rasm	'needle'
Mal. darah	rásach	'blood'
Mal. dahan	ráchel	'branch'
dua, rua, lua	o-rúng	'two'
Mal. duri, Bkl. dúgi	rus	'spine, thorn'
Phil. děkět	réged	'stick, cleave'
Phil. děněg	rénges	'hear'
Bis. túlug, túrug, Mal. tidor	durs	'sleep'
Phil. sira, sila, sida	tir	'they'
tarěm, talěm, taděm	dórem	'sharp'

(b) *RLD, g-type.*

Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
Jav. iruñ, Tag. iluñ, Čam iduñ, Karo, { Toba, Ibanak, iguñ, Iloko agoñ	isng-ék	'nose'
Bulu apěru, Mal. hampědu, Toba pogu	choás	'gall'
Jav. pusěr, Formosan pusol, Tag. pusod, { Pangas., Iloko puseg	údes	'navel'

In Palau *isngék*, the final syllable is the possessive 'my'. Without suffix, the velar nasal *ñ* (*ng*) is lost, giving *is*. With *isngék* compare the *s* of Manggara and Samoan *isu* 'nose'.

17. *The Glottal Stop or Hamza.*—The glottal stop appears as *χ* (*ch* in Walleser) in all positions, initial, medial, and final.

Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
Mal. hayam 'fowl'	cháram	'animal'
Mal. hapur	chaus	'lime'
Mal. hati, Magindanao hatai	chad	'liver'
Mal. huban, uban	chebál	'gray hair'
Mal. hujan, Tag. ulan	chull	'rain'
Mal. dahan	ráchel	'branch'
Mal. paha, Bis. pa'a	uách	'thigh'
Mal. tahi, Bis. ta'i	dach	'excrement'
Phil. mapa'it	mechuáched	'bitter'
Bis. puhun	uchúl	'trunk, origin'
Mal. darah	rásach	'blood'
Mhl. nanah	lálach	'pus'
Mal. rebah	síbech	'tear down'
Phil. bitu'(én)	pduch	'star'

18. *Excrescent initial ñ* (*ng*).—As a rule words which in Indonesian begin with a vowel, not preceded by initial *hamza*, prefix an inorganic *ñ* (*ng*) in Palau. Where initial vowels appear in Palau these are, in most cases, from original *l* (>*i* or *e*) or *p* (>*u* or *o*), e. g., IN *lanit*: Pal. *eáinged*; IN *pu'un*: Pal. *uchúl*.

Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
anai	ngal	'white ant'
apui	ngau	'fire'
anak	ngalk	'son, daughter'
Phil. abagat 'South, Southwest'	ngobárd	'West'



Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
ikan	ngigel	'fish'
Phil. ibĕg	nguibes	'desire'
urat, ugat, uhat	ngurd	'vein, sinew'
Phil. ulĕg	ngútis	'snake'
aku	ngak	'I'
ia	ngi	'he, she, it'

This inorganic *n* appears, but with less regularity, in several other Oceanic languages. It is often prefixed to the first personal pronoun, as in Ponape *nai* 'I', where IN *aku* is reduced to *ai* by loss of *u* and weakening of *k*.

19. *Special treatment in sandhi*.—(a) *Retention of original t*. IN *t*, which regularly becomes *d* (*th*) in Palau (see 8), remains unchanged when immediately preceded by *k* after Palau loss of the unaccented vowel that originally intervened, *e. g.*, the final *t* of IN *takut*: Palau *dakt* 'fear'; Phil. *gakēt*: Palau *sakt* 'tie, bind, string for binding'.

(b) *Retention of original l*. IN *l*, which regularly becomes *i* (*e*), in Palau (see 12), is retained when brought into contact with a preceding *b* by loss of an unaccented intervening vowel, *e. g.*, Palau *blai* (IN *balai*) 'house'.

(c) *RGH consonant appears as r*. The RGH consonant regularly appears as *s* (see 15). But when immediately following initial *b*, (*p*), or immediately preceding final (Palau) *d* or *t*, it appears as *r*, *e. g.*, Phil. *bĕgat*: Pal. *praud* (Semper), *berräod* (Wall.); IN *urat, ugat, uhat*: Pal. *ngurd* 'vein, sinew'; Bis. *habagat* 'Southwest': Pal. *ngobárd* 'West'; IN *ratus, gatus*: Pal. *dart* 'hundred' from the metathesized *\*tarus, \*tagus*, where the initial *t* > *d* and the final *s* > *t* by regular process. Metathesis in this word is not infrequent in other languages, *e. g.*, Iloko and Kankanai *gasut*, Bontok *lasot*, Ginaan, Tingyan *kasut*.

(d) *Assimilation of liquids*. Palau *rl* and *lr* always suffer assimilation, becoming either *ll*, as in Pal. *chull* < \**churl* (IN 'uran, 'ulan, 'udan) 'rain, or *rr*, as in Pal. *merráder* < \**melrader*, pret. of the verb *meráder* 'accompany' formed by the infix *l* (IN *in*), cf. Pal. *mlad* (IN *m-in-atai*) 'dead'. This assimilation of *l* to an adjacent *r* in the verb is pointed out by Walliser<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Grammatik*, p. 138.

20. *Recapitulation*.—(a) Final vowels and diphthongs, if unaccented in Palau, are lost: IN *mata* 'eye' and *matai* 'die': Pal. *mad* (4).

(b) The vowel of a final syllable ending in a consonant, if unaccented in Palau, is either lost: IN *manuk*: Pal. *mall*, or weakened to a colorless vowel (pepet): IN *bulan*: Pal. *búiel* (4).

(c) Original vowels which bear the accent in Palau remain unchanged: IN *bulan*: Pal. *búiel* (5).

(d) Original *k* remains or becomes *g*: IN *kita*: Pal. *kid*, IN *kutu*: Pal. *gud* (7).

(e) Original *t* becomes *d* (sometimes spirant): IN *mata*: Pal. *mad* (8), or remains unchanged: IN *takut*: Pal. *dakt* (19a).

(f) Original *p* becomes *u*: IN *pitu*: Pal. *uid* (9).

(g) Original *b* remains unchanged: IN *batu*: Pal. *bad*, or becomes *p*: IN *bulu*: Pal. *púi* (10).

(h) Original *n* becomes *l*: Mal. *nanah*: Pal. *lálach* (11).

(i) Original *l* becomes *i* (e): IN *bulu*: Pal. *púi* (12), or remains unchanged (after *b*, 19b), or becomes *r* by assimilation (19d).

(j) Original *s* becomes *t*: IN *susu*: Pal. *tut* (13).

(k) Original *y* becomes *r*: IN *layar*, *layag*: Pal. *ears* (14).

(l) The RGH consonant becomes *s*: Phil. *gakët*: Pal. *sakt* (15), or *r* before final (Palau) *d* or *t*: IN *urat*, *ugat*, *uhat*: Pal. *ngurd* (19c).

(m) The RLD consonant becomes *r*: Phil. *danum*: Pal. *ralm* (16a), or *s*: Jav. *irun*, Čam *idun*: Pal. *isng-ék* (16b), or *l* by assimilation (19d).

(n) The *hamza* becomes *ch* (i. e.,  $\chi$ ): Mal. *hati*: Pal. *chad* (17).

(o) Words beginning with a vowel prefix the velar nasal *ŋ*: IN *anak*: Pal. *ngalk* (18).

## 21. *Origin of individual Palau sounds.*

Palau	Indonesian	Examples
a (accented)	a	mad < IN mata (4)
a (unaccented)	a	lálach: Mal. nanah (4)
e (accented)	ě	réged: Phil. děkět (5)
e (unaccented)	any vowel or l	búiel: bulan; éanged: IN lañit (4 and 12)

<i>Palau</i>	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Examples</i>
i (accented)	i	kid: IN kita (5)
i (unaccented)	l	púi: IN bulu (12)
u (accented)	u	púi: IN bulu (5)
u (unaccented)	p	uid: IN pitu (9)
o	any vowel	(see below)
k	k	kid: IN kita (7)
g	k	gud: IN kutu (7)
t	s (t after k)	tut: IN susu (13); dakt: IN takut (19a)
d	t	mad: IN matai (8)
p	b	púi: IN bulu (10)
b	b	búiel: IN bulan (10)
ñ (ng)	ñ	bung: IN buña (6)
ñ (ng) excrement		ngigel: IN ikan (18)
m	m	mad: IN matai (6)
r	RLD	ralm: danum, ranum (16)
	RGH(sandhi)	ngurd: IN urat, ugat, uhat (19c)
	n > l in Pal.	merráder < *melráder (19d)
l	n	lálach: IN nana' (11)
	RLD (Pal. r)	chull < *churl: Phil. ulan, uran (19d)
	l (after b)	blai: IN balai (19b)
s	RGH	sakt: Phil. gakët (15)
	RLD (g-type)	isngék: Jav. iruñ, Ibanak iguñ (16b)
	s (sporad.)	sils: Tag. sinag; bras: Mal. bēras
ch (i. e., χ)	hamza	chad: Mal. hati (17)

Pal. *o* is a secondary sound of varied origin. In unaccented syllables it may represent any IN vowel, like *e* (see 4), and assumes its quality under the influence of surrounding sounds, e. g., Pal. *ngobárd*: IN *abarat*, *abagat*, *abahat*; Pal. *chádou*: IN *atēp*, where *ēp* > *eu* > *ou*, cf. for Indo-European the Lat. *ou* < *eu* in OLat. *douco* < \**deuco*, Goth. *tiuhan*; Pal. vbl. prefix *o*: IN *pa*, e. g., Pal. *orénges*: Phil. *padēñēg* 'hear, cause to hear', the stages of change being *pa* > *ue* > *uo* > *wo* > *o*. Here again the Latin has a parallel development in *soror* < \**suesōr*, Skt. *svásar-*. Pal. *koád* < \**kapátai* (fr. IN *patai*) has its *o* from *ap* > *eu* > *ou* > *ow* > *o* with loss of the semivowel glide *w* (*u*) before the vowel *a*. This *koád* is stereotyped and treated as a

root in Pal. in the sense of 'kill', and takes all the prefixes, infixes, and suffixes that a simple root assumes, e. g., *omekoád*, where the prefixed element is IN *pama* or *pěmě*. Were we permitted to reconstruct the word in its entirety it would give, then, the form *\*pamakapátai*. This analysis is instructive as showing the continued use of formative elements attached to petrified complexes whose original composition has been lost sight of by vocalic erosion and consonantal change.

Pal. *kodáll* 'death' is from the same *koád*, which loses its *a* when the accent is shifted to the following syllable. The whole word represents a hypothetical IN *\*kapatáyan* > *\*keuedárl* > *\*kowodárl* > *\*kodall*, where *y* regularly becomes Pal. *r* (14) and is then assimilated to the adjacent *l* (19d).

Pal. accented *o* may result, either from a rounding of original *a*<sup>1</sup>, as in *dórem* < IN *tarēm*, *talēm*, *tadēm* 'sharp', or from *pá* or *úp*, as in *reóngel* (= *reó-ng-el* with the poss. suffix *el* < IN *na* 'his, her, its' and the excrescent *ng* as connective), where *reó* is from IN *rěpa*, *lěpa*, *děpa* 'fathom', the development being *repá* > *reuá* > *reuó* > *rewó* > *reó*.

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<sup>1</sup> For the independent rounding of original *a* in Indonesian languages, compare the final vowel of Jav. *limá* and Tirurai *limo*: IN *lima*, where the sound is close to that of Ger. *o* in *hoffen* or Fr. *o* in *école*. Cf. Conant, *Notes on the phonology of the Tirurai language*, JAOS, Vol. xxxiii (1913), p. 150.

*The Vedic Dual: Part II, The Dual in Similes.*—By  
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In the first part<sup>1</sup> of this study of the Vedic dual, the writer showed that when in either the Rig or the Atharva Veda a plurality of bodily parts that are naturally dual is ascribed to an individual, the grammatical number is due to the requirements of the mythic symbolism or of the metaphor or other poetic figure. This second part of the study will corroborate the conclusions there reached by presenting lists of all the Vedic duals occurring in similes and a study of the phenomena associated with them. Naturally the same principles are found operative in the simile as in the metaphor. These seem so fundamental and obvious that it would seem supererogatory to state them; but they have been sometimes so disregarded in the translation and interpretation of Vedic passages that there may be warrant for noting their value in exegesis.

The general principle is that when the stress of comparison falls upon the substantive terms of a simile, these terms are in numerical concord. Thus in the RV. we find the following duals after dual antecedents:—

After *arvínā*—*āñçā*, X, 106, 9<sup>d</sup>; \**akṣī*, II, 39, 5<sup>b</sup>; *ajā*, II, 39, 2<sup>a</sup>; \**adhvagāū*, VIII, 35, 8<sup>b</sup>; *apāsā*, X, 106, 1<sup>b</sup>; *ārañgarā*, X, 106, 10<sup>a</sup>; *īryā*, X, 106, 4<sup>c</sup>; \**ulanyajā*, X, 106, 6<sup>c</sup>; \**upadhī*, II, 39, 4<sup>b</sup>; \**uṣṭārā*, X, 106, 2<sup>a</sup>; †*rbhū*, X, 106, 7<sup>c</sup>; \**ōsthāu*, II, 39, 6<sup>a</sup>; *kárnā*, X, 106, 9<sup>c</sup>; *kárnāu*, II, 39, 6<sup>d</sup>; *kirānā*, X, 106, 4<sup>c</sup>; \**kīnārā*, X, 106, 10<sup>c</sup>; \**kṣāmā*, II, 39, 7<sup>b</sup>; X, 106, 10<sup>d</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> See this *Journal*, XXX, p. 174 ff.

Starred words are ἀπαξ εἰρημένα in RV. Words marked with the obelisk are discussed later; those with the double obelisk have the comparative particle *nā*, all others have *iva* or *'ra*.

*khīgālā*, II, 39, 4<sup>b</sup>; *gḍhrā*, II, 39, 1<sup>b</sup>; *gḍurā*, VII, 69, 6<sup>a</sup>;  
*gāurāū*, V, 78, 2<sup>b</sup>; VIII, 87, 1<sup>d</sup>, 4<sup>d</sup>; *grāvānā*, II, 39, 1<sup>a</sup>;  
*gharmā*, X, 106, 8<sup>a</sup>; *caḥravākā*, II, 39, 3<sup>c</sup>; <sup>1</sup>*jaranā*, X, 40, 3<sup>a</sup>;  
*jāratos*, VIII, 73, 11<sup>b</sup>; *\*jārbhārī*, X, 106, 6<sup>a</sup>; *\*dāmpatī*, II,  
39, 2<sup>d</sup>; *duṭā*, II, 39, 1<sup>d</sup>; X, 106, 2<sup>c</sup>; *nadyā*, II, 39, 5<sup>a</sup>;  
<sup>+</sup>*nābhye*, II, 39, 4<sup>b</sup>; <sup>+</sup>*nāse*, II, 39, 6<sup>c</sup>; *\*nāitoṣā*, X, 106, 6<sup>b</sup>;  
*nāvā*, II, 39, 4<sup>a</sup>; <sup>+</sup>*nṛpātī*, X, 106, 4<sup>b</sup>; *pakṣā*, X, 106, 3<sup>a</sup>;  
*paḥrā*, X, 106, 7<sup>a</sup>; *patarā*, X, 106, 8<sup>c</sup>; *pādā*, II, 39, 5<sup>b</sup>; X,  
106, 9<sup>b</sup>; *pārijmānā*, X, 106, 3<sup>d</sup>; *paṇvā*, X, 106, 3<sup>b</sup>; *pitārā*,  
III, 58, 2<sup>b</sup>; <sup>+</sup>VII, 67, 1<sup>d</sup>; X, 39, 6<sup>b</sup>; 106, 4<sup>a</sup>; *pitārāu*, X,  
131, 5<sup>a</sup>; *putrā*, X, 106, 4<sup>a</sup>; <sup>+</sup>*pradhī*, II, 39, 4<sup>b</sup>; <sup>+</sup>*pravāsā*,  
VIII, 29, 8<sup>b</sup>; *prāyogā*, X, 106, 2<sup>b</sup>; *bṛhāntā*, X, 106, 9<sup>a</sup>;  
*brahmānā*, II, 39, 1<sup>c</sup>; <sup>+</sup>*mananyā*, X, 106, 8<sup>d</sup>; *mahiṣā*, VIII, 35,  
7<sup>b</sup>-9<sup>b</sup>; X, 106, 2<sup>d</sup>; *mitrā*, X, 106, 5<sup>b</sup>; *mṛgā*, X, 40, 4<sup>a</sup>; *mēne*,  
II, 39, 2<sup>c</sup>; *mēsā*, X, 106, 5<sup>d</sup>; <sup>+</sup>*yugé*, II, 39, 4<sup>a</sup>; *yuvaṣā*, VIII,  
35, 5<sup>a</sup>; *rathyā*, II, 39, 3<sup>d</sup>; *\*rājaputrā*, X, 40, 3<sup>d</sup>; *vānsagā*,  
X, 106, 5<sup>a</sup>; *vājā*, X, 106, 5<sup>c</sup>; *vātā*, II, 39, 5<sup>a</sup>; *vīrā*, II, 39, 2<sup>a</sup>;  
*ṣaphāū*, II, 39, 3<sup>b</sup>; <sup>+</sup>*ṣṭṅe*, II, 39, 3<sup>a</sup>; *ṣyenā*, V, 74, 9<sup>d</sup>;  
VIII, 73, 4<sup>b</sup>; *ṣyenāū*, VIII, 35, 9<sup>a</sup>; *ṣṛṣṭivānā*, X, 106, 4<sup>d</sup>;  
*ṣvānā*, II, 39, 4<sup>c</sup>; *sāraghā*, X, 106, 10<sup>b</sup>; *sudīnā*, X, 106, 1<sup>d</sup>;  
*stānāu*, II, 39, 6<sup>b</sup>; *haṇsāū*, V, 78, 1<sup>c</sup>-3<sup>c</sup>; VIII, 35, 8<sup>a</sup>;  
*harināū*, V, 78, 2<sup>a</sup>; *hāstā*, II, 39, 7<sup>a</sup>; *hāstāu*, II, 39, 5<sup>c</sup>;  
*hāridravā*, VIII, 35, 7<sup>a</sup>. (92)

After *rōdasī*,— *adhvarā*, III, 6, 10<sup>c</sup>; <sup>+</sup>*nārī*, X, 93, 1<sup>b</sup>; *mātārā*,  
IX, 18, 5<sup>b</sup>.

After *hārī* (*īndrasya*),— *pakṣā*, VIII, 34, 9<sup>b</sup>; <sup>+</sup>*rājī*, X, 105, 2<sup>c</sup>.

After *babhrū* (*īndrasya*),— *\*kanīnaké*, IV, 32, 23<sup>a</sup>.

After *dhiṣāṇe*,— *\*cārmanī*, VI, 8, 3<sup>c</sup>.

After *adhiṣavanyā*,— *jaḥhānā*, I, 28, 2<sup>a</sup>.

After *bāhū* (*agnimanthanāu*),— *tūskarā*, X, 4, 6<sup>a</sup>.

After (*havirdhāne*),— *yamé*, X, 13, 2<sup>a</sup>.

After *ādri*,— *rathyā*, VII, 39, 1<sup>c</sup>.

After *ṣīpre* (*īndrasya*),— *\*srūvā*, X, 96, 9<sup>a</sup>. (12)

So with elliptic duals:

After <sup>2</sup>*kṣonī*,— <sup>+</sup>*mātārā*, VIII, 99, 6<sup>b</sup>.

After *pitārā* (*r̥bhūnām*),— *yāpā*, IV, 33, 3<sup>b</sup>.

After <sup>3</sup>*āyaji* (*āulūkhalaū*),— *hārī*, I, 28, 7<sup>c</sup>. (3)

<sup>1</sup> So Sāyaṇa, Grassmann *RV.* and *WB.* but Ludwig *RV.* takes it as inst. sg.

<sup>2</sup> See *JAOS* XXXII, 42.

<sup>3</sup> See *JAOS* XXXII, 43.

<sup>2</sup> *JAOS* 35.



Also with dual dvandvas:

After *uśāsānāktā*,— *\*dhenū*, VII, 2, 6<sup>b</sup>; *\*pātnī*, I, 122, 2<sup>a</sup>; *padé*, III, 55, 15<sup>a</sup>; *\*vayyè*, II, 3, 6<sup>b</sup>.

After *mitrāvārunā*,— *\*ṛcvā*, VI, 67, 4<sup>a</sup>; *pitārā*, IV, 41, 7<sup>d</sup>; *\*rathyā*, VII, 25, 2<sup>a</sup>; *vrajā*, V, 64, 1<sup>c</sup>.

After *indrāgnī*,— *āñṣā*, V, 86, 5<sup>d</sup>; *ācvā*, VI, 59, 3<sup>b</sup>.

After *indrāsómā*,— *ācvā*, VII, 104, 6<sup>b</sup>; *\*nṛpātī*, VII, 104, 6<sup>d</sup>.

After *indrābrahmaṇaspatī*,— (*ācvā*) *yūjā*, II, 24, 12<sup>d</sup>.

After *indrāvāyātī*,— *\*dūtā*, VII, 91, 2<sup>a</sup>.

After *dyāvāprthivī*,— *\*mene*, I, 95, 6<sup>a</sup>.

After *indrāvārunā*,— *vṛṣabhā*, IV, 41, 5<sup>b</sup>. (16)

Two singulars may be substituted for the antecedent dual:

After *vīpātī chutudrī*,— *ācve*, III, 33, 1<sup>b</sup>; *gāvā* (*mātārā*) III, 33, 1<sup>c</sup>; *mātārā* (*gāvā*), III, 33, 3<sup>c</sup>; *rathyā*, III, 33, 2<sup>b</sup>.

After *yamā yamī ca*,— *\*cakrā*, X, 10, 7<sup>d</sup>.

After *yamī anyāṁca*,— *\*cakrā*, X, 10, 8<sup>d</sup>.

After *vāyūh pūṣā ca*,— *\*viṣpātī*, VII, 39, 2<sup>b</sup>. (7)

The forms given in the foregoing lists differ in some instances from those of the *Padapāṭha*. Thus in II, 39, we have *ṣṛṅgeva* in 3<sup>a</sup>, *yugéva* in 4<sup>a</sup>, *nābhyeva* in 4<sup>b</sup> and *nāseva* in 6<sup>c</sup>. The *Padapāṭha* resolves these into *ṣṛṅga-ivā*, *yugā-iva*, etc. This hymn is mainly an aggregation of thirty similes in which the Aṣvins are described. In twenty-five of these, the dual is unmistakable. Bollensen (*Orient und Occident*, II, 472) suggests that we should read *yugé-va*, *nābhye-va* and *nāse-va* in the places cited, but failed to note *ṣṛṅgeva*, which should just as obviously be resolved into *ṣṛṅge-va*. In 7<sup>b</sup> the *Padapāṭha* resolves *kṣāmeva* into *kṣāma-iva*. I have already given in this *Journal* (XXXII, 41f.) reasons for resolving it into *kṣāmā-iva* and taking *kṣāmā* to be an elliptic dual<sup>1</sup>. Thus we have duals throughout.

In IV, 32, 23<sup>a</sup>, the adjective *vidradhē* shows that the noun in *kanīnakēva* is feminine, hence we must, against the *kanīnakā-iva* of the *Padapāṭha*, accept Bollensen's resolution into *kanīnakē-va*.

In II, 3, 6,—

*sādhv āpānsi sanātā na ukṣitē*  
*uśāsānāktā vayyēva ravitē |*  
*tāntum tatām sanivāyanti samīcī*  
*yajñāsya pēṣaḥ sudūghe pūyasvatī ||*

<sup>1</sup> So also in X, 106, 10<sup>d</sup>.

The *Padapāṭha* has in *b vayyā-iva*, but *raṇvitē* and the other six duals show that we should, with Grassmann (*WB*, s. v. *iva*), read *vayyē-va*<sup>1</sup>.

The *Padapāṭha* takes the combinations *upadhīva* (II, 39, 4<sup>b</sup>), *cārmanīva* (VI, 8, 3<sup>c</sup>), *dāmpatīva* (II, 39, 2<sup>d</sup>), *nṛpātīva* (VII, 104, 6<sup>d</sup>, X, 106, 4<sup>b</sup>), *pātnīva* (I, 122, 2<sup>a</sup>) *pradhīva* (II, 39, 4<sup>b</sup>) and *viṣpātīva*, (VII, 39, 2<sup>b</sup>), as instances in which the dual desinence *ī* is not *pragrhya*. As the form *va* is now so uncontestedly established for Vedic, it would seem preferable to take them under the rule as *pragrhya* forms plus *va*. In favor of this disposition of them we have *akṣī iva* (II, 39, 5<sup>b</sup>), *īndragnī iṣa* (III, 12, 5<sup>c</sup>; SV. II, 925<sup>c</sup>; 1053<sup>c</sup>; MS. IV, 11, 1<sup>c</sup>; 159, 8), *dyāvāprthivī ihā* (IV, 56, 1<sup>a</sup>; ÇÇ. 8, 19, 1), *brhatī iva* (I, 59, 4<sup>a</sup>), *hārī indra* (VIII, 3, 17<sup>b</sup>; 13, 27<sup>c</sup>; 70, 7<sup>d</sup>; X, 114, 9<sup>d</sup>; SV. I, 301<sup>b</sup>), *hārī iva* (I, 28, 7<sup>c</sup>), *hārī ihā* (I, 16, 2<sup>b</sup>; 121, 8<sup>a</sup>; 177, 4<sup>d</sup>; TB. II, 4, 3, 10<sup>b</sup>), *ārtñī iva* (AV. I, 1, 3<sup>b</sup>), *agnī indra* (TB. II, 4, 5, 7<sup>d</sup>), *īndrāgnī idam*, TB. III, 5, 10, 3; MS. IV, 13, 9; 212, 5), *īndrāgnī iva* (SMB. 2, 4, 14)<sup>2</sup>. Against it we have, so far as I have found, the unique *rōdasimé* (*rōdasi-imé*) found in VII, 90, 3<sup>a</sup> and repeated in SV. II, 925<sup>c</sup>; 1053<sup>c</sup>; MS. IV, 11, 1<sup>c</sup>; 159, 8—all the same *pāda*.

In VII, 2, 6, the traditional text reads—

utā yōṣane divyē mahī na  
uṣāsānāktā sudūgheva dhenūh /  
barhiṣādā puruhūtē maghōnī  
ā yajñīye suvitāya çrayetām //

<sup>1</sup> Many of our handbooks fail to give sufficient recognition to this form *va*. The *Petersburg Wörterbuch* does not cite it for the Vedas. The Monier-Williams *Dictionary* cites it only for the *MBh.* and the *Kāvya* literature "in some more or less doubtful cases". Macdonell's *Dictionary* says *va* for *iva* is "very rare". Speijer and Thumb are silent about it. Bollensen in 1864 (*l. c.*) showed its existence in a number of instances in the *RV.* and Grassmann (*l. c.*) extended Bollensen's list to a total of thirty-seven. Lanman (*NI.* pp. 343 and 361) accepts *yugé-va* and *nabhyé-va* in II, 39, 4, *vayyē-va* in II, 3, 6, and *kaninaké-va* in IV, 32, 23 as correct, and *nāse-va* in II, 39, 6 as probable, stating as the other possibility that *nāsā* might be taken as a nom. du. fem. from *nās* "strong". Arnold (*Vedic Metre*, p. 78, § 129) accepts the instances cited from Lanman. Whitney in his *Grammar* has a line and a half (1102f.) about it but in his *Index Verborum to the Atharva Veda* gives ninety-eight instances of "monosyllabic *iva*" in that Veda.

<sup>2</sup> This list is not complete, as the phenomenon did not come under observation until lists were nearly collected.

The *Padapāṭha* gives in *b* *sudūghā-iva*, but Bollensen (*l. c.*) showed the lack of reason in comparing *uṣāsānāktā* to a single good milch cow, —*sudūghā dhenūḥ*— and proposed the emendation *sudūghe-va dhenū*. The accumulated duals in *a*, *c* and *d*, and the normal usage in similes seem to make the emendation imperative.

*Padā b* in its traditional form is, however, quite at home in I, 186, 4—

*ūpa va eṣe nāmasā jigīṣā*  
*uṣāsānāktā sudūgheva dhenūḥ /*  
*samāné āhan vimīmāno arkām*  
*viṣurupe pāyasi sāsminn ūdhan //*

[You (= *viṣve Devās*) I entreat, with reverence, with wish to win, (And) *Uṣāsānāktā*, like a good milch cow, Arranging (my) song of praise on a common morning With milk of differing hue in this udder].

We believe Ludwig is right in his exegesis,—the singer is the cow lowing with full udder at the milking time, the song he offers is the milk implied in *sudūghā*, the *viṣurupe pāyasi* is milk mingled with the yellow Soma juice and the *ūdhan* is the place of sacrifice whence milky libations flow. Indra is compared to a cow in II, 16, 8<sup>b</sup>; VIII, 1, 10<sup>c</sup>; 14, 3<sup>a</sup>, as is Agni in I, 66, 2<sup>b</sup> and the *kṣetrapati* in IV, 57, 2<sup>b</sup>. So here conversely the Ṛṣi with his strengthening offering of song. For the transition in *b* from the pl. in *a*, compare that from the sg. of 1<sup>a</sup><sup>b</sup> to the anonymous pl. 1<sup>c</sup>, first named in 2<sup>a</sup>.

In X, 10, 7<sup>d</sup>, the amorous Yamī proposes to Yama—

*vī cid vrheva ráthyeva cakrá,*

and in 8, he replies,—

*anyéna mād āhano yāhi tīyaṇi*  
*téna vī vrha ráthyeva cakrá.*

As *cakrá* may be masc. du. or neut. pl., the question arises which have we here. Grassmann (*WB. s. v.*) considers it plural. Sāyaṇa glosses by *cakre*, hence he took it as dual. The latter is undoubtedly right. The form *cakrá* is demonstrably dual in I, 166, 9<sup>d</sup> and in VIII, 5, 29<sup>c</sup>. The ordinary Vedic chariot was two-wheeled, as will be shown in part III of these studies. The general principle of numerical concord requires the dual. The metaphor in the verb as well as the simile is that of two wheels with a common axle. Hence we conclude that the form is dual in both places.

In the hundred and thirty similes thus far considered, the principle of numerical concord holds. It is not, however, without exceptions, real or apparent. We now pass to a consideration of those similes in which only one term is in the dual. The most frequent case is that in which a dual *upameya* has a singular *upamāna*. Thus in I, 34, 7<sup>cd</sup>,—

*tisró nāsatyā rathyā parāvāta*  
*ātméva vātaḥ svāsarāṇi gachatam.*

[Come, car-borne Nāsatyas o'er the three distances,  
As the breath, the wind, to the early morning sacrifices<sup>1</sup>].

The singular is required for two reasons:—

1. In the RV., *ātmán* is *singulare tantum*,
2. The simile is *κατά σύνεσιν*; a duality or plurality of *vātas* would be incongruous in sense, implying discord.

In I, 180, 9<sup>ab</sup> we find, in an Aṣvin simile,

*prá yád váhethe mahinā ráthasya*  
*prá syandrā yātho mánuṣo ná hótā*

[When you fare forth by the might of your car,  
You go with haste like (a) man's hotar].

The concord is again *κατά σύνεσιν*. Except on special occasions, the Vedic *yájamānas* has a single *hotar* (see I, 139, 10<sup>a</sup>; III, 41, 2<sup>a</sup>; V, 41, 5<sup>c</sup>; 43, 3<sup>c</sup>; 49, 4<sup>c</sup>; VII, 1, 16<sup>c</sup>; 7, 5<sup>d</sup>; 56, 18<sup>a</sup>; etc.).

One reason for his haste is suggested by I, 25, 17<sup>c</sup>—

*hóteva kṣádase priyám*

[Like a hotar you eat what you are fond of].

A duality of *hotars* is known only in the case of the *dāivyā hótārā*, variously identified as Agni and Āditya, Agni and Varuṇa, or Āditya and Varuṇa.

The phrase *mánuṣo hótā* may be taken also as a metonym of Agni (cf. II, 18, 2<sup>b</sup>; III, 3, 2<sup>b</sup>; VII, 8, 2<sup>b</sup>; 73, 2<sup>a</sup>). In this case also, only the singular could be expected.

In X, 106, we have 37 similes with the Aṣvins as *upameya*. The *upamāna* is dual in 35 of them. In 3<sup>c</sup>, however, we find,—

*agnír iva devayór dīdivāṁsā*

It would be easy to emend to *agní iva*, but what would it mean? The Veda knows no two fires of a worshipper. His fire is regularly in the singular. The epithet *triṣadhassthá*, applied to Agni, would warrant the idea of three fires, though *triṣa-*

<sup>1</sup> See JAOS, XXXII, 409 f. or more fully, Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* III, 113 ff.

*dhastú agní* is found only in the singular. Sāyaṇa explains our passage,— *agnir yathā havirbhiḥ stutibhiḥ ca dīpyate, devān icchato yajamānasya yajñe stutibhir dīptāu bhavataḥ*. This seems substantially correct, so we would render—

Beaming (du.) like the fire of a worshipper.

An alternative interpretation may be had by taking *agnir* as a proper noun and *devayóṛ* as an ablative of cause;—

Beaming like Agni (beams) because of his worshipper.

Then in 7<sup>a</sup><sub>b</sub>, we have

*pajréva cúrcaram jāram marātyu*  
*kṣādmēvārtheṣu tartarītha ugrā /*

As Griffith says of the passage and its context, “nearly every word is a difficult riddle”. There seems to be in *pāda b* a comparison of the Aṇvins with *kṣadman*, a word found elsewhere in the RV. only in I, 130, 4<sup>a</sup>, in a comparison with Indra’s thunderbolt. The usual rendering is “Vorlegemesser”. Grassmann (*WB*) says of our passage: “wäre der Dual zu erwarten” and in his *RV.* renders, “wie zwei Vorlegemesser”. The dual, however, is not needed. The following interpretations seem possible. They are arranged in order of preference.

1. The Rev. Dr. J. B. Nies of Brooklyn, NY., assures me that the Vedic sacrificial knife, like the Sumerian, was a broad, cleaver-like, two-edged blade. With an ancient specimen found in India, now in his possession, a strong man could sever at a blow the head of a bull. Such a knife with its two edges would answer well the purposes of the simile.

Like two sturdy men, the moving, aging, mortal (world?  
frame?)

You press through to your goals, mighty ones, like a sacrificial knife.

2. The context may be understood as referring to some such exercise of the healing power of the Aṇvins as was manifested in the case of Cyavāna, restored to youth from helpless old age. We should then have a *comparatio compendiarum*,— Your healing, rejuvenating power . . . like the (penetrating power of a) sacrificial knife.

3. On the analogy of *drāghmā* for *drāghmanā* (X, 10, 4<sup>b</sup>) and *raçmā* for *raçmanā* (VI, 67, 1<sup>c</sup>), *kṣādmā* may be an inst. sg.,— “as it were with a sacrificial knife”.

4. *Nāigh.* 2, 11 gives “water” as a meaning of *kṣadman*, as does Sāyaṇa here. Hence the comparison would be between

the *cūrcaram jāram marāyu* and *kṣadmā*,— You press through the moving, etc. as through water.

The singular is justified in any of these.

I, 183, 1<sup>a</sup>— *tridhātunā patatho vīr nā parṇāih*

On your triple car you fly like a bird on its pinions. The Aṅvins are mounted on their triple car,— *trivandhuró*, *trīcakráh* (1<sup>b</sup>), *tráyaḥ paváyo* (I, 34, 2<sup>a</sup>), *tráyo skambhása* (I, 34, 2<sup>c</sup>). The Ṛṣi likens the whole complex, car and riders, to a bird in flight. So we, in the case of an aeroplane carrying two or more persons, would say—"They fly like a bird".

The Veda knows no duality of *parṇám*, even for a single bird. The meaning seems to be "pinions, wing-feathers", rather than "wings". Hence, by metaphor, "the leaves of a tree". Otherwise we might explain the plural here as influenced by the bizarre number of the parts of the chariot.

I, 37, 6— *kó vo vārṣiṣṭha ā naro*  
*divác ca gmác ca dhūtayaḥ |*  
*yát sīm ántam ná dhūnuthá ||*

[Who is your very mightiest, O heroes,

Ye shakers of heaven and earth,

When ye shake them as the hem (of a garment)?]

The simile is *κατὰ σύεσιν*. The Maruts shake heaven and earth as one. Also *ántam* is practically *singulare tantum* in this sense.

VI, 67, 3<sup>cd</sup>; MS. 4, 14, 10<sup>cd</sup>; 231, 6  
*sam yātv apnasthó apúseva jánāḥ*  
*chrudhīyatác cid yatatho mahitvá*

The *Padapāṭha* has *apúsā-iva*, which may be a nom. dual as in X, 106, 1<sup>b</sup>, or an inst. sg. *Apnastho* may be nom. sg. or acc. pl. Accordingly we may render—

Who by your majesty unite the obedient as by work the lord of an estate (does) his people; or,

As two active (men, overseers) unite (or impel) their laborers.

In the former the stress of comparison lies upon the instrumentals *apúsā* and *mahitvá*. *Mitrāvaruṇā* acting as one would be in comparison *κατὰ σύεσιν* with *apnasthó*. In the latter, the comparison is formally correct between MV. and *apúsā* and *apnasthó* must be taken as an adjective, "being at work"<sup>1</sup>, with *jánān*, "people".

<sup>1</sup> This would seem a possible meaning for the word, which is *ἐπ'αἰσθητόν* in RV.

VIII, 87, 1<sup>ab</sup>—

*Dyumñi vām stómo aṣvinā  
krīvir ná séka á gatam /*

Grassmann, Ludwig and Griffith see here a comparison between *aṣvinā* and *krīvir*. To me the simile is between *stómo* and *krīvir*.

Clear is your song of praise, Aṣvins,

As a water-skin in its outpouring. Come ye.

Or at least a *comparatio compendiaria* in *pāda b*,

Come ye to its outpouring like (to that of) a water-skin.

VIII, 73, 17<sup>ab</sup>—

*aṣvinā sū vicākaṣad  
vrkṣām paraṣumāñ iva /  
18<sup>ab</sup> púram ná dhṛṣṇāv á ruja  
kṛṣṇáyā bādhitó viçá /*

These are separated only by an irrelevant refrain common to every *rc* of the hymn. It seems better to take them together. The translations of Grassmann, Ludwig and Griffith take the comparison in 17 to be between *aṣvinā* and *vrkṣām*, but Ludwig in his commentary would place the punctuation at the close of *pāda a*. This seems much better. The passage is not clear, but if we accept with Sāyaṇa a reference to the story of Saptavadhri, who, in V, 78, 5, 6, seems to have had hand or foot caught in a split tree and to have been extricated when he invoked the Aṣvins' aid, we may render somehow thus—

When you see clearly the Aṣvins,

Like a man with an axe, strong one, break down the tree,

Like the fort (that you once broke down)

When (you were) harassed by the black folk.

Saptavadhri is named in 9<sup>a</sup> preceding. The incident in 18 may have given him the name (prosynonym), "the one having seven eunuchs", as black aborigines may have been taken captives here and made his eunuchs. Grassmann (*WB*) refers 18 to Indra, though there is no allusion to him elsewhere in the hymn.

IV, 41, 8<sup>ab</sup>—

*tā vām dhīyó 'vase vājayāntīr  
ājīm ná jagmur yuvayñīḥ sudūnū /*

I do not see the comparison of some of the translators between *vām* and *ājīm*. At the most it would be a *comparatio compendiaria* as *vām* could be compared only to the goal not

to the race track. The meaning seems to be—These hymns, O bounteous givers, longing for both of you, racing for (the prize of) your favor, have gone to the track as it were, (i. e., in competition with those of other Ṛsis).

Conversely the singular may have a dual *upamāna*.

Thus in III, 18, 1<sup>ab</sup>, we have

*Bhāvā no agne sumānā ūpetāu  
sākheva sākhye pitāreva sādhuḥ /*

[Be thou gracious, Agni, on our approach,  
Good as friend to friend, as one's father and mother].

The meaning of *pitāra* as an elliptic dual excludes the singular. There is no need of Bollensen's labored attempt (*op. cit.* p. 472) to explain *pitāreva* as *pitāre-va*, and this *pitāre* as an archaic dative and the elliptic rendering "as (a son) to his father".

X, 89, 2<sup>ab</sup>—

*sū sūryaḥ pāry urū vārāṇsy  
ēndro vavṛtyād rāthya cakraḥ /*

[He (Indra) is Sūrya. Through the wide expanses,  
Indra turns hitherward like the wheels of a chariot].

A commentary may be based on

I, 30, 14<sup>c</sup>— *ṛnōr ākṣam nā cakryōḥ* and

I, 166, 9<sup>d</sup>— *ākṣo vaç cakraḥ samāyā vi vāvṛte*.

Both in our passage, X, 89, 2<sup>b</sup>, and in I, 166, 9<sup>d</sup>, Grassmann takes *cakraḥ* as neut. pl., apparently not considering what manner of chariot it would be with a plurality of wheels upon a single axle. Ludwig in his commentary remarks that *cakraḥ* may be inst. sg. It would be a bizarre picture, indeed, to represent the mighty Indra rolling through the vast expanses by a single chariot wheel. *Cakraḥ* is masc. dual in both passages, as this alone is the normal number. The two wheels on one axle turn together.

X, 59, 1<sup>abc</sup>—

*Prā tāry āyuh pratarāṁ nāvīya  
sthātāreva krātumatā rāthasya /  
ādha cyāvāna ut tavīty ārtham*

Grassmann, Ludwig and Griffith, all see a comparison between *āyuh* (sg.) and *sthātārā* (du.). If this were the case, the dual could be easily defended by the analogy of II, 12, 8<sup>c</sup>—

*samānām cid rātham ātasthivānsā*

The twain mounted on a common car, i. e. the king, or



warrior, and the driver, hence the two usual occupants of the car, the familiar, later *rathināu*.

A study of the hymn, however, suggests another interpretation as more in keeping with its general tenor. Four times, in *rcas* 4, 5, 6 and 7, the *Rṣi* asks for longer life. Four times he asks for sight,—

4<sup>b</sup>— *pácyema nú sūryam uccárantam*.

5<sup>c</sup>— *rārandhī nahī sūryasya samdṛṣṭi*.

6<sup>a</sup>— *pūnar asmāsu cákṣuḥ (dhehi)*.

6<sup>c</sup>— *jyók paçyema sūryam uccárantam*.

Thus the burden of his song is life and light. We may find both desires in the opening lines, and render—

May (Subandhu's) life be carried forward anew,

May the guides as it were of his car be possessed of power,

Then active, he will effect his purpose.

Grassmann both in his *WB.* and his *RV.* takes *krátumatā* as a nom. du. built on the weak stem instead of on the strong. Lanman (*NI.* 516) considers this "not improbable". *Sthātārā* is thus in comparison with an implied *akṣyāu* (eyes) and the dual is normal both for this reason and for that already suggested. This interpretation does not greatly differ from Lanman's (*l. c.*): "Discerning are the two guides as it were of the body". As he does not state how he arrives at this, one cannot tell how much we differ in method of approach.

The dual might have a plural *upamāna*, but this does not seem to occur in the *RV.* Two passages have, however, been so taken.

I, 141, 11<sup>cd</sup>—

*raçmīnr iva yó yāmati jánmanī ubhé*

*devānām çānsam rtú á ca sukrátuḥ*

[Which with kindly power guides as they were reins  
both races and the praise of the gods at sacrifice].

Here the formal *upameya* is *jánmanī ubhé devānām çānsam* *ca*, a dual plus a singular, so the plural *raçmīnr* is formally normal. There is, however, a sort of *comparatio compendiaria* here. The races are guided but the reins are only the instrument by which the horse, or horses, are guided. So "reins" is equivalent to "steeds directed by the reins". The steeds of the figure would be the individual members of the two races. Again the *RV.* knows no duality of *raçmī*, but uses the pl. even in the case of a single horse, as in I, 144, 3<sup>d</sup>— *vólhur*

*ná raçmîn*, or a collective sg., even for plural horses, as in V, 44, 3<sup>d</sup>, *hárinām*. So the pl. is amply justified, even if *jánmanī* alone be taken as *upameya* of the simile.

I, 95, 6— *ubhé bhadré joṣayete ná méne*  
*gávo ná vāçrā úpa tasthur évāih /*  
*sá dáksānām dáksapatir babbhūva*  
*añjānti yām dakṣiṇatō havírbhiḥ //*

[Both auspicious ones, like dames, fondle (Agni).

Like lowing kine they stand about in their wise.

He of the wise became lord of wisdom,

Whom, on the right, they balm with their oblations].

The translators give no intimation of taking the simile in *pādas a* and *b* otherwise than between *ubhé bhadré* (= *uṣāśā-nāktā* or *dyāvāprthivī*) and the pl. *gávo*. But clearly *b*, like *d*, refers to the worshippers, who in *b*, in wonted wise, stand about the newly born Agni and in *d* pour their oblations of oil upon him. The hymn is marked by some of those swift and sudden transitions in which the Ṛsis frequently delight. Thus in 1 we have day and night, in 2 Tvaṣṭar's ten daughters, in 3 the *yajamānās*, in 4 and 5<sup>ab</sup> Agni, in 5<sup>cd</sup>, 6<sup>a</sup> *uṣāśānāktā* or *dyāvāprthivī*, 6<sup>b</sup> the *yajamānās* 6° Agni, 6<sup>d</sup> the *yajamānās*, 7-11 Agni. There is thus no comparison between *ubhé bhadré* and *gávo* and the plural of *b* is normal.

Conversely a plural may have a dual *upamāna*.

I, 59, 4<sup>a</sup>— *brhatī iva sūnāve ródasī giro*  
 [Like the great twain worlds are the praises (offered)  
 to their son, i. e., Agni is everywhere praised,  
 his songs fill the vast heaven and earth].

*Ródasī* is here a *duale tantum*, it could not be pluralized. Nor could *giro* be made dual, for imagine the bathos of two songs filling the vast reaches of the two worlds. The plural indicates the vast volume of multitudinous songs.

VII, 2, 5— *svādhyò ví dúro devayántaḥ*  
*ácīçrayū rathayúr devātātā /*  
*pūrvī çīçum ná mātārā rihāṇē*  
*sām agrīvo ná sūmanēṣv añjan //*

[The pious worshippers opened wide the doors

fain for chariots in the god's service;

Like rich parents caress their child,

Like maidens (adorn themselves) for the assembly,

they adorn him].

The numerical concord of *pādas a, b* and *d* is broken by the dual of *c*. Sāyaṇa explains the metaphor of *mātārā* by the sacrificial ladles, *juhū* and *upabhṛt*; Ludwig suggests also *dyāvāprthivī*. In either case the elliptic dual must remain as a *duale tantum* in its meaning.

Here may belong also:—

I, 180, 4<sup>d</sup>—

*rāthyeva cakrā prāti yanti mādhuḥ*

[Like chariot wheels run the sweet (juices)].

IV, 30, 2<sup>a b</sup>— *satrā te ānu kṛṣṭāyo*

*vīcā cakrēva vāvrtuḥ*

[All people have run together

as chariot wheels after you (Indra)].

X, 117, 5<sup>c d</sup>—

*ó hí vārtante rāthyeva cakrā*

*anyām-anyam ūpa tiṣṭhanta rāyaḥ*

[Verily riches roll on like chariot wheels

Now one, now another, they approach].

There is doubt whether *cakrā* is here dual, the conventional number for a chariot, or plural for a plurality of chariots.

In the examination of these twenty passages we see that a real lack of numerical concord may be due (1) to words that are found only in one grammatical number in the meaning required; (2) to constructions in which there is concord of sense rather than of form; (3) to poetic exigency as strict concord would lead to incongruity, bathos, etc.; (4) to rhetorical tropes, etc. There is always a good and sufficient reason for the lack of numerical concord. The instances in which the examination has led to new interpretations show something of the value of the principle in Vedic hermeneutics.

A collection of the similes with lack of concord between the singular and plural numbers, which the writer is making, will illustrate and corroborate the foregoing and will furnish new interpretations for several Vedic passages.

#### AV.

The Atharva Veda has few duals in similes. Those which show the normal numerical concord between the substantive terms are—

After *ajirādhirājāu* (= *mṛtyūḥ ca nīrṛtiḥ ca*) — *çyenāu* (VII, 70, 3<sup>b</sup>).

After *ántāu*—*sammātārāu* (XIII, 2, 13<sup>b</sup>). See *JAOS.* XXXII, 44.

After *gfāhrāu*—\**kurkurāu* (VII, 95, 2<sup>e</sup>); *gāvāu* (VII, 95, 2<sup>b</sup>);  
and *vṛkāu* (VII, 95, 2<sup>d</sup>).

After *muṣkā* (*strīyās*)—*gardabhāu* (XX, 136, 2<sup>d</sup>); *ṣakulāu* (XX, 136, 1<sup>d</sup>).

With elliptic dual as antecedent—

After *dāmpatī*—\**cakravākā* (XIV, 2, 64<sup>b</sup>).

With dual dvandva as antecedent—

After *dyāvāprthivī*—*dhenū* (IV, 22, 4<sup>b</sup>).

After *prāṇāpānāu*—*anadvāhāu* (III, 10, 5<sup>b</sup>; VII, 53, 5<sup>b</sup>).

With two singulars as antecedent—

After (*ṣrutādhāraṇā ca mēdhā ca*)—\**ārtñī* (I, 1, 3<sup>b</sup>).

After *āvām*—*strī anyā ca* (or *anyāc ca*)—*sākhāyāu* (VI, 42, 1<sup>d</sup>, 2<sup>a</sup>).

To these are to be added a few listed also in RV.—

After *indrāsōmā* (RV. VII, 104, 6<sup>b</sup>)—*āṣvā* (VIII, 4, 6<sup>b</sup>).

After *indrāsōmā* (RV. VII, 104, 6<sup>d</sup>)—*nṛpātī* (VIII, 4, 6<sup>d</sup>).

After (*havīrdhāne*) (RV. X, 13, 2<sup>a</sup>)—*yamé* (XVIII, 3, 38<sup>b</sup>).

After *yamâc ca yamī ca* (RV. X, 10, 7<sup>d</sup>)—*cakrā* (XVIII, 1, 8<sup>d</sup>).

After *yamī ca anyāc ca* (RV. X, 10, 8<sup>d</sup>)—*cakrā* (XVIII, 1, 9<sup>d</sup>).

Of similes with but one dual member, I find a single instance, — III, 29, 6 —

*ireva nōpa dasyati*  
*samudrā iva páyo mahát /*  
*devāu savāsīnāv iva*  
*ṣṭipān nopa dasyati //*

[Like a refreshing draught he faileth not,  
Like the sea, the great water,  
Like the twain gods that dwell together,  
The white-footed (ram) faileth not].

The concord in the singular in *pādas a, b* and *d* is broken by the dual in *c*, in which the reference is to the *aṣvinā*, *duale tantum*.

The Rig Veda gives us 130 similes with the dual in both the *upameya* and the *upamāna* and at least 13, at most 20, others in which but one term is in the dual. The Atharva Veda gives but 19 similes with complete dual concord, and but one in which a single dual is found.

\* Starred forms are ἀπαξ ἐλεγμένα in AV. All the words listed have *iva* as the particle of comparison.

Not only in the dual but also in the other numbers does the AV. show a remarkable lack of similes as compared with the RV. Thus, according to the citations in Whitney's *Index Verborum*, we have in the entire twenty books of the AV. only 368 similes with *iva* or *va* and 38 with *ná*, a total of 401, against the 207 similes with *iva* and 315 with *ná*, a total of 522, found by actual count in the first book alone of the RV. Of these the AV. has 40 with *iva* and 14 with *ná*, that are common to it and to the RV.

These figures give a conclusive demonstration of the enormous difference between these two Vedas in the use of figurative language, in their poetic power and artistic technique, and afford a strong confirmation of the statements made by the writer in this *Journal*, XXX, 182ff. and XXXII, 33ff. The study of the instances in which the general numerical concord between the terms of a simile is not maintained affords another demonstration of the vast gulf that so often separates the artistic, hieratic Ṛṣi of the Rig and the feebly imitative and essentially prosaic Shaman of the Atharva in the skill with which they use rhetorical tropes and syntactical schemata.

This study amply illustrates also the strict use of the dual in Vedic.

*Some Aspects of the Overland Oriental Trade at the Christian Era.* — By WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Secretary of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.

The conquests of Alexander resulted in a great development of commerce between India and the Mediterranean, which was made possible through the establishment of a regular overland trade route under single control from end to end. This was the route which led from Antioch in Syria to the ford of the Euphrates, thence down that river and across to Seleucia on the Tigris, up the Zagros valley, over the plateau to the Caspian Gates and north of the Persian desert to Nisaea and Antiochia Margiana; thence through Bactria to the Pamirs, or through Arachosia to Kabul and the Panjāb. Under the earlier Seleucidae Greek cities grew up at frequent intervals along this great highway of commerce, and Greek traders were active.

The disintegration of the Greek power in Asia was succeeded by the establishment of the Parthian dynasty, and the disintegration of the Greek power in Mediterranean lands was succeeded by the establishment of the Roman Empire. For three centuries the diplomacy of these two powers was focussed on their trade relations. The Parthians controlled the great overland trade route, and levied onerous taxes on the rich commerce that passed over it to the new market of the West; the Romans sought to create new trade routes, or failing that, to force better terms from Parthia.

The trade was largely in gems, spices and fine textiles from India, and in silk from China, paid for in coin or its equivalent, for Rome had little else to offer. It was therefore a trade that was peculiarly subject to intermediate taxation by any power established astride the trade-routes, and peculiarly susceptible of diversion from one route to another.

As the power and wealth of Rome increased, the enterprise

of her subjects was directed eastward, and before 50 A. D. the periodicity of the Indian monsoons was observed and Roman shipping was regularly dispatched from Egyptian ports to India, steering straight across the ocean and no longer hugging the shore. This sea trade was very actively developed between 50 and 100 A. D. and seriously crippled the overland caravan business; but before this came about, there was another important diversion of trade from the Parthian highway. In the Mediterranean lands it was observed through the growing prosperity of Petra at the expense of Antioch. By tracing the new route we may discover a striking combination of political and commercial elements that threatened the very existence of the Parthian power.

The route led from Petra, either overland across Arabia, or more notably by sea around Arabia, to the head of the Persian Gulf; thence up the mountains of Elam and overland south of the Persian desert to Lake Helmand, Arachosia and Kabul. This brought into combination the Nabataean Kingdom, the Arab states of Mesene and Characene which were closely related to it, the ancient Kingdom of Persis, the Scythian Sacae, and finally the Yue-chi or Kushans, ruling on either side of the Hindu Kush, in territory taken by them from the Greek kings of Bactria.

Of these elements three, the Arab Persian Gulf states, the Sacae at Lake Helmand and the Persians between, were at least nominally subject to the Parthian dynasty, but the bond was very loose. We read in the *Shah Nama* the contempt of Persia for the Parthians; "the throne did not belong to any one" and "men said that they had no longer a kingdom on the earth." And the Sacae, though admitting the Parthian overlordship, had previously admitted that of the Yue-chi, by whom they had been driven over the Pamirs, and who had followed them and were settled in adjoining territory; so that by inheritance they were no subjects of Parthia. The maintenance of overland trade by this route, in competition with the older Parthian route, depended on the existence of a strong power controlling the passes into India and Turkestan. Precisely this power existed under the Yue-chi dynasties.

There has been much discussion of the dates of these dynasties and the extent of the territories over which they ruled.

The tribes came out of Chinese territory and overran Bactrian territory before 100 B. C. Overland trade between China and the Greeks in Bactria had been opened soon after 200 B. C., the terrors of the great deserts having been overcome by the use of the Bactrian camel. By their control of the mountain passes the Yue-chi tribes were intermediaries in this trade, from the profits of which the growth of their influence was no doubt derived. After an uncertain period of settlement north of the Hindu Kush they penetrated India through the upper Indus and the Panjāb, and established there an empire which perhaps overshadowed and outlasted their Bactrian dominion. Their various tribes, although apparently allied or confederated, were under chieftains of different families, so that their dynasties were not necessarily continuous.

Recent debate has been focussed on the relative priority of the two leading Kushan dynasties, the one including Kozoulo and Wima Kadphises (the former at first ruling jointly with the Greek Hermaeus) and the other, Kanishka, Vasishka, Kanishka II., Huvishka and Vasudeva. The Kadphises dynasty, it is generally admitted, attached to themselves the remnants of the Greek kingdom of Kabul and overthrew the Indo-Parthian kingdom of Gondophares, about 50 A. D., after which they greatly enlarged the Kushan dominions in Arachosia and India. The beginning of the Kanishka dynasty is dated 58 B. C., the so called Vikrama era, by Prof. Sylvain Lévi, Prof. O. Franke, Dr. Fleet, Mr. Kennedy and others; 78 A. D., the Saka or Salivahana era, by Fergusson, Prof. Percy Gardner, Prof. E. J. Rapson, Dr. F. W. Thomas, Cunningham, and by Mr. Vincent A. Smith, in the third edition of his *Early History of India*, although in previous editions he had preferred a 2<sup>nd</sup> century dating; and by the Messrs. Bhandarkar as late as 278 A. D. The question of Kanishka's date is important because of its bearing on the history of both politics and religion; for in addition to his military achievements he convened a great Buddhist council out of which developed a missionary activity that was possibly felt as far away as China and Roman Syria. While the recent discussion of this question at sessions of the Royal Asiatic Society<sup>1</sup> in London has, perhaps, resulted in no final conversion to any of these dates

<sup>1</sup> JRAS, various numbers, 1912-13-14; see also the introductory treatises in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new ed., vols. I and II.

<sup>2</sup> JAOS 35.



by its partisans, it has served especially to direct attention to the important part played by the Kushan dynasties in the international silk trade; and further examination of the general state of international diplomacy and commerce of that period indicates, if not an earlier dating of a single dynasty like that of Kanishka, at least a dating of the domination of international trade-routes by the Yue-chi earlier than the overthrow of the Gondophares dynasty, about the middle of the first century.

The increase in the importation of silk at Rome was noted before the end of the Republic, and even at a time when conditions tended to restrict traffic through the trade-route terminus at Antioch. Lucan<sup>1</sup> gives a vivid description of the charms of Cleopatra seen through the "Sidonian fabric"; during the reign of Augustus silk fabrics were much affected by men, although the fashion was considered effeminate; and early in the reign of Tiberius the Roman Senate enacted a law<sup>2</sup> "that men should not defile themselves by wearing garments of silk". If we credit the various statements of Pliny<sup>3</sup> this law was ineffective, and the demand for silk continued to grow; the fabric was worth its weight in gold, and the trade was a serious drain on the resources of the Empire. Pliny, indeed, counts it among the "most valuable productions"; "the most costly things that are gathered from trees are nard and Seric tissues".

The rise of the Nabataean trade coincided with the decline of the Ptolemies in Egypt and the overthrow of the Sabaeans, the commercial intermediaries of the Ptolemies, in South Arabia, by their neighbors and rivals the Homerites, who levied tribute on all traders from Egypt. This upheaval in South Arabia led also to the expulsion of another tribe, the Abaseni, into Africa, where they established the Abyssinian kingdom.<sup>4</sup>

This happened about, or a little before, the Christian era.<sup>5</sup> By 80 A. D. those "people called Axumites" were established, and maintained friendly relations with Rome; so we are told by the author of the *Periplus*;<sup>6</sup> later they were active allies

<sup>1</sup> Pharsalia X, 141.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, Annals. II, 33.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. Nat. VI, 20; XI, 26; XXI, 8; XXXVII, 67.

<sup>4</sup> Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ch. XIV.

<sup>5</sup> Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*.

<sup>6</sup> *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, §§ 4, 5; ed. Schoff, pp. 61-6, 140-2.

of the Romans and cooperated with them in destroying the power of the Homerites and thus clearing the sea-route to the East.

The Nabataean allies at the head of the Persian Gulf were the states of Characene and Mesene. Racially they were closely related. From their port of Obollah or Apologus (the Ubulu of the Assyrian inscriptions) the author of the *Periplus* noted in 80 A. D. an active sea-trade to India,<sup>1</sup> exporting gold and various products and bringing back timber and less bulky merchandise. Now the Chinese annals give us an important reference to this state. In a section written about 90 A. D. and embracing facts coming within the period 206 B. C. to 25 A. D. we find this comment:<sup>2</sup>

"The country of T'iao-chih is densely populated; it used to be governed by petty rulers, but An-hsi (Parthia) reducing them to vassalage, made it into a dependency".

At the time this was inserted in the annals it must have been "news". It can probably be referred to the latter half of the first century A. D. The author of the *Periplus* knew no Parthia; indeed, he speaks of "Persis" as an independent power, holding half of Southern Arabia.<sup>3</sup> And a later passage in the Chinese annals refers again to T'iao-chih as having become "subject to Parthia as a vassal state under a military governor having control of all the small cities".<sup>4</sup>

The century following the Roman occupation of Syria was one of unrest among the Arab tribes of the northern desert, and the old highway from Antioch to Seleucia was infested with robbers. Indeed, it was not until the rise of Palmyra that the caravan trade was effectively policed and again became prosperous. And we have two records that indicate some effort of the Parthians to connect with the Southern, or Nabataean route; one Chinese, the other Greek.

In a year fixed as 97 A. D. "the general Pan-Chao sent Kan Ying as an ambassador to Ta-ts'in, who arrived in T'iao-chih, on the coast of the great sea. When about to take his passage across the sea, the sailors of the western frontier of Parthia told Kan-Ying: 'the sea is vast and great; with favorable winds it is possible to cross within three months:

<sup>1</sup> *Periplus* 149-151.

<sup>2</sup> Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, 145.

<sup>3</sup> *Periplus*, §§ 27, 87: *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 161.

<sup>4</sup> Hirth, *op. cit.*, 38.

but if you meet slow winds, it may take you two years. It is for this reason that those who go to sea take on board a supply of three years' provisions. There is something in the sea which is apt to make a man homesick, and several have thus lost their lives'. When Kan-Ying heard this, he stopped."<sup>1</sup>

Now this port where the timid Kan-Ying ended his mission and avoided *mal de mer*, is named Yü-lo, which Prof. Hirth identifies with Hira below Seleucia, whence ships reached the Persian Gulf by the Euphrates, or the Pallacopas Canal.<sup>2</sup> It was "at the extreme west frontier of Parthia"; below it was T'iao-chih of the Arabs, which later came into vassalage; and from this place "coming from the land-road of Parthia you make a round at sea, and taking a northern turn, come out from the western part of the sea, whence you proceed to Ta-ts'in",—by circumnavigating Arabia.<sup>3</sup> That is, at the end of the first century A. D. the Parthians were cutting into the Arab sea-route and about the same time they subjugated the Arabs themselves.

The Greek source for our view of the policy of Parthia as regards this southern route, is in the *Mansiones Parthicae* or *Parthian Stations* of Isidore of Charax, dating close to the Christian era.<sup>4</sup> Here we are taken by the older route from Antioch to Seleucia, with mention of the "island in the Euphrates, where was the treasure of Phraates, who cut the throats of his concubines, when Tiridates the exile invaded the land";<sup>5</sup> and of the Greek city Artemita—"but now it is called Chalasar",<sup>6</sup> (showing the growth of Arab influence). Thence Isidore proceeds through Parthia proper to Nisaea and Antiochia Margiana. But here, instead of bearing eastward, his route bends southward through "Alexandria of the Arii"<sup>7</sup> to "Sacastana of the Scythian Sacae", being the Lake Helmand region,<sup>8</sup> and finally "the city of Alexandropolis, the metropolis of Arachosia; it is Greek, and by it flows the river Arachotus".<sup>9</sup> And here the itinerary ends with the statement "As far as this place the land is under the rule of the Parthians".

That is, at the Christian era no Parthian custom-houses

<sup>1</sup> Hirth, *op. cit.* 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 39.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 43.

<sup>4</sup> Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, I, 244-256; also ed. Schoff, Philadelphia, 1914.

<sup>5</sup> Isidore, § 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* § 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* § 15.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* § 18.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* § 19.

collected their tolls east of Mervrud, Herat and Kandahar. Between those points and the Pamirs it seems necessary to infer the existence of a foreign and independent power, which can hardly have been other than that of the Yue-chi.<sup>1</sup>

But observe that Isidore shows us Parthian control over one section of the southern route, that between Kandahar and Lake Helmand,<sup>3</sup> and a northern connection from that point to the old overland route;<sup>4</sup> while we have ample evidence that from the Saka territory trade went also through Carmana to Charax Spasini and Obollah, where it paid tolls to another power. This we may explain from the peculiar position of the Sacae, with their dual subjection, Kushan by inheritance and Parthian by adoption. And just at this time they played a large part in the Parthian empire; for when Phraates IV. whom Isidore mentions, was first driven from his capital by Tiridates in 33 B. C. he fled to the Scythians, who lent him troops and reestablished him on his throne. Just then the Parthians were in no position to be over-insistent on their sovereign rights; for the Romans supported Tiridates (who struck coins with the title *Philoromaïos* in addition to the usual *Philhellēnos* of the Parthians) and kept him in their pay as an ever-useful pretender to the throne of their enemies.<sup>5</sup>

One of the earliest Chinese references to Parthia states that "when the emperor Wu-ti (B. C. 140-86) first sent an

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<sup>1</sup> That such a power existed north of the Hindu Kush is undisputed. Between that range and the Indus the Greek city-state of Kabul may well have been the only place that had not succumbed to it. The routes eastward from Herat to the Bamian-Balkh pass, and from Kandahar to Kabul, had formerly been feeders to the Parthian trade-route; now they were under other hands. Isidore lists Arachosia and Sacastana under the Parthian dominions, but this was evidently no more than their western border. Later (about 35 A. D.) they moved eastward under Gondophares, and in the general break-up after his death (about 50 A. D.) the author of the *Periplus* (80 A. D.) found quarrelling Parthians at the mouths of the Indus, while above them were the Arattii, (a Panjāb tribe) the Arachosii, the Gandaraei (Gandhāra, with its capital Takshasilā, Taxila) and the people of Poclais (western Gandhāra, below Kabul, with its capital Pushkalāvati, Pukkalaoiti, the Peucelaotis of Arrian) and "above these the very warlike nation of the Bactrians",<sup>2</sup> certainly the Yue-chi, probably then dominant over the small states above mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> *Periplus*, § 47; *op. cit.*, pp. 183-7.

<sup>3</sup> Isidore, § 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* §§ 16, 17, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia in the British Museum*, XXXVIII, plates 16-23.

embassy to Parthia the king ordered a general to meet him on the eastern frontier with 20,000 cavalry. As they sent an embassy to follow the Chinese embassy they came to see the country of China. In the east of Parthia are the Ta-Yuehchi"<sup>1</sup> (Kushans)—we may infer, not yet independent. And two centuries later, when the campaigns of Pan-chao brought the Chinese arms westward, we are told that he "established contact with Parthia"—that is, that by the end of the first century A. D. the Kushan power no longer blocked the Chinese trade-routes, but was confined to the Indus and its affluents.

The development of trade between the Kushan and the Nabataean dominions was the result of disorganization and weakness in the Roman and Parthian empires. With their recovery we shall see how quickly this interloping combination was broken up. Rome disliked Parthia, but one set off tariff-collectors was better than two; and the author of the *Periplus* tells us the Nabataeans took their 25 % of all merchandise and maintained a garrison to collect it.<sup>2</sup> So the policy of Rome was to develop some workable arrangement with Parthia for the overland trade, to build up her own sea-trade, and to destroy other competitors. A like policy ruled in Parthia and China.

While Rome was torn by the civil wars following the murder of Julius Caesar, and Parthia by those following the murder of Orodes by his son Phraates whom Isidore mentions, Kabul, Obollah and Petra could trade together unmolested; and this state of things endured until the close of the war of the Armenian succession, 58 to 62 A. D., after which there was lasting peace between Rome and Parthia.<sup>3</sup> Even at the Christian era Isidore shows us the Parthians tapping it at Lake Hira. In 80 A. D. the author of the *Periplus* knew of the Kushans as "the very warlike nation of the Bactrians", who dwelt "above the Arachosians"<sup>4</sup>—but their warlikeness received a severe check in 90 A. D. when a Kushan king sent a great army, said to have included 70,000 cavalry, over the Pamirs to do battle with the Chinese general

<sup>1</sup> Hirth, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 140.

<sup>2</sup> *Periplus*, § 19: *op. cit.*, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Rawlinson, *Sixth Monarchy*, ch. XVI.

<sup>4</sup> *Periplus*, § 47; *op. cit.*, p. 184.

Pan Chao.<sup>1</sup> The Kushan force was annihilated; Pan Chao "established contact with Parthia", and the 2d century A. D. shows us the Kushans overrunning India as far as the Ganges, but no longer measuring strength with China or Parthia. And in 104 A. D. the emperor Trajan sent a Roman army to the conquest of Petra and the destruction of the Nabataean Kingdom.<sup>2</sup> Parthia alone remained to claim its share of the overland trade and to compete with the Roman sea-trade; as the Chinese annals have it, "they (the Romans) traffic by sea with Parthia and India, the profit of which trade is tenfold. They are honest in their transactions, and there are no double prices . . . Their kings always desired to send embassies to China, but the Parthians wished to carry on trade with them in Chinese silks, and it is for this reason that they were cut off from communication. This lasted until the ninth year of the Yen-hsi period during the emperor Huan-ti's reign (A. D. 166) when the King of Ta-ts'in, Antun (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus) sent an embassy who from the frontier of Jih-nan (Annam) offered ivory, rhinoceros horns and tortoise shell"; (products of the Abyssinian coast of Africa)—"from that time dates the direct intercourse with this country".<sup>3</sup>

These various facts indicate that during the century between 50 B. C. and 50 A. D. we can account for the existence of a strong power, independent of Rome or Parthia, astride the overland trade routes, and that after about 50 A. D. we must assume its decadence and soon after 100 A. D. its passing from Central Asiatic affairs and its expansion in a purely Indian field. The Chinese annals show us the Yue-chi west of the Pamirs by 100 B. C. Does the later history of Turkish invaders lead us to suppose that this tribe remained peaceful shepherds for more than a century when let loose on the remains of Greek prosperity in Bactria? Did they not rather, like the Ottoman Turks, pursue their conquests with full vigor, fortifying themselves by assuming a religious leadership that would command the allegiance of their victims?

The history of the first century B. C. requires a Yue-chi

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<sup>1</sup> V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3d ed. pp. 253-4; Douglas, *China* (Story of the Nations series), p. 18; Lévi, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Dio Cassius, 68, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Hirth, *op. cit.*, p. 42; this was probably a trading venture, and not an official mission.

power, if not everywhere supreme, at least the dominant force, between the Oxus and the Indus, taking full advantage of the temporary weakness of Rome and Parthia to strengthen its control of the silk-trade; the century following the Christian era shows that power spreading over Northern India and finally reaching the Erythraean Sea; but for an "Indo-Scythian" in the second century A. D. shutting off Chinese from Parthians there is no ready explanation. After the defeat at Kashgar and the fall of Petra, the bases for such a power are not apparent. And whatever the ultimate decision as to the date of Kanishka (which the fortunate discovery of some inscription may at any time establish beyond doubt) it is clear at least that his race before and during the first century exerted a more complete control of the overland trade-routes than they could have done at any date after 100 A. D.<sup>1</sup>

On the sea-route the Indo-Scythians asserted themselves after their overland control declined. We find many evidences of their activity in the Indian Ocean. Pausanias gives us one, where he mentions the "island of Seria", usually confused with the Seres of China, but which we may identify with Masira on the southern coast of Arabia. He follows earlier writers in saying "both the Seres and the inhabitants of the neighboring islands of Abasa and Sacaea (the modern Kuria Muria) are of the Ethiopian race". But he qualifies by adding "some say, however, that they are not Ethiopians but a mixture of Scythians and Indians".<sup>2</sup> The author of the *Periplus* saw there only "three villages of natives, a rascally lot, wearing girdles of palm leaves";<sup>3</sup> but the Indus delta he knew as "the coast district of Scythia, which lies above toward the north".<sup>4</sup>

And so we are led to a later Chinese account, when the

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<sup>1</sup> The subsequent history of the Kushan tribes north of the Hindu Kush is still obscure. Apparently they were much reduced by the Sassanians in Persia and a new race of Asiatic invaders, the Ephthalite Huns. In 481 A. D. the Kushans defeated the Sassanian king Perozes, who attacked them where they then lived, on the southern shore of the Caspian; but about 600 A. D. they were overwhelmed by Armenian troops subject to the greatest of the Sassanians, Chosroes II. At that time both Kushans and Ephthalites were apparently vassals of the Turks. (Cf. Rawlinson, *Seventh Monarchy*, XVI; XXIV.)

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, *Descr. Graec.* IV, 26; see *Periplus*, ed. Schoff, pp. 144-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Periplus*, § 33; *op. cit.*, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> *Periplus*, § 38; *op. cit.*, p. 166.

missionary activities of the Kushan monarchs had outlived their military glory:<sup>1</sup> "as regards Ta-ts'in and T'ien-chu (Syria and India) far out on the western ocean, we have to say that, although the envoys of the two Han dynasties have experienced the special difficulties of this road, yet traffic in merchandise has been effected, and goods have been sent out to the foreign tribes, the force of winds driving them far away across the waves of the sea . . . All the precious things of land and water come from there . . . and also the doctrine of the abstraction of mind in devotion to the Lord of the world, all this having caused navigation and trade to be extended to those parts".

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<sup>1</sup> Hirth, *op. cit.*, p. 46. General attention will also have been given to the results of Dr. Marshall's explorations in the Gandhāra region. His paper on the Date of Kanishka (*JRAS*, Oct. 1914) appeared subsequently to the preparation of the foregoing, and points perhaps in the same direction, of Kushan influence waning in Central Asia as it advanced in Northwestern India. It is, of course, mainly by archaeological investigation that any question like this can be finally solved.

(W. H. S., June, 1915.)



*The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Four.*—Edited, with critical notes, by LEROY CARR BARRET, M. A., Ph. D., Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut.

*Prefatory.*—This fourth book of the Kashmirian Atharva Veda is edited in the same manner as were the first three books (see this Journal vol. 26 p. 197, vol. 30 p. 187, and vol. 32 p. 343). The remarks prefaced to Book Three are applicable here without change; the added experience in handling this manuscript seems to be bringing only one gain, a somewhat surer realization of the limits of possible attainment in restoring the text, and yet evidence of this may not always be clear in the results presented. Book Five will follow this one as soon as possible; at my request Professor Edgerton of the University of Pennsylvania has edited Book Six.

The transliteration is given line for line with the ms. and in spite of the limitation of a narrow page there ought to be no confusion in finding a passage in the facsimile. The abbreviations are the usual ones; except that Ç. is used to refer to the AV. of the Çāunikiya School, and ms. (*sic*) is used for manuscript. The signs of punctuation used in the ms. are fairly respresented by the vertical bar (= colon) and the "z" (= period): and the Roman period is used for a *virāma*: daggers indicate a corrupt reading.

#### Introduction.

*Of the ms.*—This fourth book in the Kashmir ms. begins f. 61a l. 4 and ends f. 74b l. 16,—13<sup>1</sup> folios, inasmuch as f. 62 is omitted in the numbering though the text is not interrupted. In f. 64b l. 5 three or four letters are marred by peeling of the bark: and there are not more than four unclear signs. The number of lines of script per page varies from 17 to 19.

*Punctuation, numbers, glosses, &c.*—There are no numbers at the ends of stanzas, and only irregular punctuation to mark the ends of hemistichs. In some places a short vertical bar just below the line of script indicates the position of a colon. No accents are marked.

The grouping of the hymns in anuvākas is maintained; there are 8 anuvākas with 5 hymns in each, and all are correctly numbered except that no number is written for anuvāka or hymn at the very end of the book. All the hymns are numbered save no. 14 and no. 40; the end of no. 14 is not indicated in any way.

In the left margin of f. 63b opposite l. 16 stands ācīrva-  
canam: its position at the end of no. 5 seems to indicate that it applies to that hymn. In the lower margin of f. 70a is written vṛhaspatasūktah (*sic*); it seems to refer particularly to st. 2 of no. 27. In the right margin of f. 71a stands ṣaḍṛtaṁ  
sūktam, referring to no. 30: cf. Ppp. 2. 69 where the edited text probably should have been ṣaḍṛtusūktam. In the top margin of f. 71a stands indram mitram divīsū, probably abbreviated for divīsūktam and referring to no. 28 (= RV. 1. 106): in the same margin is also apannāṣṭakamta referring to no. 29 (= Q. 4. 33) where there is some anukramaṇī material prefixed to the hymn. Thrice (in hymns 9, 17, 19) only the pratika of the last stanza is given followed by ity ekā to indicate previous occurrence in this ms.; this ity ekā seems to be an abbreviation perhaps of something like ity ekarcam, meaning "and so forth to the extent of this one stanza".

There are some corrections, both marginal and interlinear usually consisting of two or three letters.

*Extent of the book.*—This book has 40 hymns of which two are prose. The normal number of stanzas in a hymn is seven, as it is in Q. 4: 31 hymns have 7 stanzas each, and not one has less. Assuming the correctness of the verse divisions as edited below (there are uncertainties in several places), we have the following table:

31 hymns have	7 stanzas each	=	217 stanzas
4 "	8 "	=	32 "
2 "	9 "	=	18 "
2 "	10 "	=	20 "
1 hymn has	13	=	13 "
40 hymns have		=	300 stanzas

*New and old material.*—There are 15 hymns in this book which may fairly be called new, although material already familiar in other texts enters to some extent into the structure of some of them. The number of stanzas which are essentially new is 114: the number of pādas which do not appear in the *Concordance* is a little above 260.

Of the 40 hymns in Ç. 4 sixteen appear here in fairly close agreement: there are here also two hymns of Ç. 1 (combined into one here), two of Ç. 2, one each of Ç. 3, 7, and 19; and some few scattered stanzas or pādas. Three hymns of the RV. appear here, a group of verses of KS. appear here as a hymn, and three stanzas of ApMB. (1. 6. 5—7) appear as the core of a hymn here. Other correspondences are insignificant.

## ATHARVA-VEDA PĀIPPALĀDA-ÇĀKHĀ BOOK FOUR.

1. [f. 61a, l. 4.]

Ç. 4. 2.

om̐ namo nārāyaṇāya z z om̐ hiraṇya-  
garbhas sam avartatāgre bhūtasya jātāṣ patir eka āsīt. sa  
dādāhāra pṛthivīm  
dyām utemām kasmāi devāya haviṣā vidhema | ya ojadā  
baladā ya-  
sya viçva upāsate prasiçam̐ yasya devāḥ yasya çchāyāmṛ-  
taṁ yasya 'mṛtyu-  
ṣ kasmāi devāya haviṣā vidhema | yaṣ praṇato nimiṣato  
vidharta patir viçvasya  
jagato babhūva | içe yo asya dvipadaç catuṣpadaṣ kasmāi  
devā z yana dyāur ugrā  
pṛthivī ca dṛça yena sva stabhitaṁ yena nākaṁ | yo anta-  
rikṣam̐ vimama variya-  
ṣ kasmāi de z ya ime dyāvāpṛthivī tastabhānādhāred avasā  
rejamāne |  
yasminn adhi vitata eti sūraṣ kasmāi de z yasya viçvo  
himavanto mahitvā  
samudraṁ yasya rasayā sahāhuḥ diço yasya pradiçaṣ pañca  
deviṣ kasmāi de-

vāya haviṣā vidhema z āpo ha yasya viçvam āyur dadhānā  
 garbham janaya-  
 nta mātārā | tatra devānām adhi deva āstha ekasthūne vimate  
 dṛḍha ugre ā-  
 po garbham janayantīr vatsam agre sam ārayan. tasyota  
 jāyamānasyolvasīd dhi-  
 ranayayah hiraṇya ulvāsīd yo gre vatso ajāyata | tvam yo  
 tyor vṛbhnavantyoṣ pa-  
 [f. 61b] ry apaçyad ruḍūr mahīḥ. z 1 z

Read: hiraṇyagarbhas samavartatāgre bhūtasya jātaṣ patir  
 eka āsīt | sa dadhāra prthivīm dyām utemām kasmāi devāya  
 haviṣā vidhema z 1 z ya ojadā baladā yasya viçva upāsate  
 praçīṣam yasya devāḥ | yasya chāyāmṛtaḥ yasya mṛtyuṣ ka-  
 smāi • • z 2 z yaṣ prāṇato nimīṣato vidhartā patir viçvasya  
 jagato babbhūva | iṣe yo asya dvipadaç catuṣpadaṣ kasmāi • •  
 z 3 z yena dyāur ugrā prthivī ca dṛḍhā yena sva stabhitam  
 yena nākaḥ | yo antarikṣam vimame variyaṣ kasmāi • • z 4 z  
 ya ime dyāvāprthivī tastabhāne adhārayad avasā rejamāne |  
 yasminn adhi vitata eti sūraṣ kasmāi • • z 5 z yasya viçve  
 himavanto mahitvā samudram yasya rasayā sahāhuḥ | diço  
 yasya pradiçāṣ pañca deviṣ kasmāi devāya haviṣā vidhema z 6 z  
 āpo ha yasya viçvam āyur dadhānā garbham janayanti māta-  
 raḥ | tatra devānām adhi deva āsta ekasthūne vimite dṛḍha  
 ugre z 7 z āpo garbham janayantīr vatsam agre sam ārayan |  
 tasyota jāyamānasyolba āsīd dhiranayayah z 8 z hiraṇya ulba  
 āsīd yo 'gre vatso ajāyata | †tvam yotyor vṛbhnavantyoṣ† pary  
 apaçyad uḍūr mahīḥ z 9 z 1 z

Our version of this hymn agrees closely with that of MS.  
 and KS. St. 6 here is original but resembles somewhat st. 7  
 of MS., and for that reason it might be better to read in our  
 a āyan. It may be that what is given here as st. 9 does not  
 belong to the hymn. Perhaps the root bhram is in 9c.

2. [f. 61b, l. 1.]

Q. 4. 8.

bhūto bhūteṣu paya ā dadhāti sa bhūtā-  
 nām adhipatiḥ rbabbhūva | sa te mṛtyuṣ carate rājasūyam  
 sa rājā rāyam a-

nyatām idam z abhi prehi vidāyasvograṣ cettā sapatnahā | ā  
 tiṣṭha  
 mittravardhana tubhyaṁ devā adhi vruvan. z ātiṣṭhantaṁ  
 pari viṣve abhūṣaṁ ṣchri-  
 yo vasānaṣ carati svarociḥ mahat tad viṣṇor asurasya nāmā  
 viṣvarūpo amṛ-  
 tāni tasthāu z yenā vyāghraṁ pariśasvajānā sinhaṁ hinvanti  
 mahate sābha-  
 gāyā | mahiṣaṁ nas subhavas tasthivāṁsaṁ parimṛjyante  
 dvīpinam apsuntaḥ  
 vyāghro adhi vāiyyāgre vi kramasva diṣo mahiḥ diṣas tvā  
 sarvāyānty ā-  
 po divyāṣ payasvatīḥ ya āpo divyāṣ payasā sadanty ānta-  
 rikṣa uta  
 pārthivā yāḥ tāsāṁ tvā sarvāsāṁ apām abhi ṣiṅcāmi var-  
 casā |  
 abhi tvā varcasāsṛjaṁ divyena payasā saha | yathāso mittra-  
 vardha-  
 nas tathā tvā savibhā karat. z 2 z

Read: bhūto bhūteṣu paya ā dadhāti sa bhūtānām adhipatir  
 babhūva | sa te mṛtyuṣ carate rājasūyaṁ sa rājā rājyam anu  
 manyatām idam z 1 z abhi prehi vidāyasvograṣ cettā sapa-  
 tnahā | ā tiṣṭha mittravardhana tubhyaṁ devā adhi vruvan z 2 z  
 ātiṣṭhantaṁ pari viṣve abhūṣaṁ chriyo vasānaṣ carati svaro-  
 ciḥ | mahat tad vṛṣṇor asurasya nāmā viṣvarūpo amṛtāni ta-  
 sthāu z 3 z enā vyāghraṁ pariśasvajānāḥ sinhaṁ hinvanti  
 mahate sāubhagāya | mahiṣaṁ na subhavas tasthivāṁsaṁ pa-  
 rimṛjyante dvīpinam apsv antaḥ z 4 z vyāghro adhi vāiyyāghre  
 vi kramasva diṣo mahiḥ | diṣas tvā sarvā āyānty āpo divyāṣ  
 payasvatīḥ z 5 z yā āpo divyāṣ payasā sadanty antarikṣa uta  
 pārthivā yāḥ | tāsāṁ tvā sarvāsāṁ apām abhi ṣiṅcāmi varcasā  
 z 6 z abhi tvā varcasāsṛjan divyena payasā saha | yathāso  
 mitravardhanas tathā tvā savitā karat z 7 z 2 z

In 6a we might read madanty as in Ç.; neither is very  
 good. In 4c nas subhūvaṁ might be better: cf. MS. 2. 1. 9.

3. [f. 61b, l. 12.]

KS. 37. 9.

yat te candram kaçyapo roca-  
nāvad dit samhitam puṣkalam citrabhānuḥ asmin sūryār-  
pitas sapta sākam  
tasmin rājānam adhiviçrayemam. | yebhiç çilpāiṣ paprayā-  
nām adṛñ-  
had yebhir dyām abhyapiñçaṣ pravidvān. | yabhir vācam  
puṣkalebhir avyayañ-  
s tena māgre varcasā saṁsrjeha yebhis sūryas tapati pra  
ketubhir ye-  
bhir agnir dadṛçe citrabhānuḥ yebhir āpaç candravarṇā  
ajinvan te-  
[f. 63a] na māgre varcasā saṁsrjeha | āyam bhātu pradiçaṣ  
pañca devī indra iva  
jyeṣṭho bhavatu prajānām. | asmin dhehi puṣkalam cittra-  
bhānv āyam prṇātu raja-  
sor upastham | anu tvendro vatv anu vṛhaspatir anu tvā  
somo nv agnir āvit. |  
anu tvā viçve avantu devās sapta rājāno ya udābhiṣiktāḥ  
anu tvā  
mittrāvaruṇehāvatām anu dyāvāprthivī moṣadhībhiḥ 'sūryo  
hobhir anu  
tvāvatu candramā nakṣatrāir anu tvedam āvi dyāuḥ ca tvā  
prthivī ca pracetasā  
çukro vṛhad dakṣiṇā tvā pipantu | anu svadhā siktā somo  
gniṣ pūṣā tvā-  
vatu savitā savena z 3 z

Read: yat te candram kaçyapa rocanāvad yat samhitam  
puṣkalam citrabhānu | yasmin sūryā ārpitās sapta sākam tasmin  
rājānam abhi viçrayemam z 1 z yebhiç çilpāiṣ paprathānām  
adṛñhad yebhir dyām abhyapiñçat pravidvān | yebhir vācam  
puṣkalebhir avyayañs tena māgre varcasā saṁsrjeha z 2 z  
yebhis sūryas tapati pra ketubhir yebhir agnir dadṛçe citra-  
bhānuḥ | yebhir āpaç candravarṇā ajinvan tena māgre varcasā  
saṁsrjeha z 3 z āyam bhātu pradiçaṣ pañca devī indra iva  
jyeṣṭho bhavatu prajānām | asmin dhehi puṣkalam citrabhānv  
āyam prṇātu rajasor upastham z 4 z anu tvendro 'vatv anu

vṛhaspatir anu tvā somo 'nv agnir āvit | anu tvā viçve avantu  
devās sapta rājāno ya udābhiṣiktāḥ z 5 z anu tvā mitrāva-  
ruṇā ihāvatām anu dyāvāprthivi sahāuṣadhibhiḥ | sūryo 'ho-  
bhir anu tvāvatu candramā nakṣatrāir anu tvedam āvit  
z 6 z dyāuḥ ca tvā prthivi ca pracetasā çukro vṛhad dakṣiṇā  
pipartu | anu svadhā cikitām somo 'gniḥ pūṣā tvāvatu savitā  
savena z 7 z 3 z

The ms. corrects ttr to tr in f. 63a l. 2. Note that f. 62 is omitted in the numbering of folios. For st. 1 see also Ç. 13. 3. 10, and for st. 7 see Ç. 6. 58. 1.

4. [f. 63a, l. 8.]

Ç. 1. 7 and 1. 8. 1-3.

stuvānam aṣṭhā naya yātudhānam kimī-  
dinam tvaṁ hi devām stuto haṁtā tasyota babhūvyathā |

In pāda a the sign ṣṭh is not perfectly formed, and it seems that we must read agna ā naya, with kimīdinam at the end of b. In c I think deva sanistuto is the most probable correction; in d babhūvitha ought to be read and dasyor as in Ç. seems better although tasyota might possibly stand; read also haṁtā.

ājyasya parameṣṭhin jātave-  
das tanūvaçim. | agne tūlasya prāçānam yātudhānād vi lā-  
payah

Read in ab parameṣṭhin and tanūvaçin. In c it would seem that we ought to read tāulasya which is reported for all mss. of Ç.; read also prāçāna yātudhānān.

vi la-  
paṁtu yātudhānātriṇo ye kimīdinaḥ yathedam agne no  
havar indraç ca  
prati haryatām. |

In ab read vi lapantu yātudhānā atriṇo; in c athedam; haryatam as in Ç. does not seem necessary.

agnīṣ purasthād ā yacchatu pratha indro  
nudadaçvāhumā |

vraṇītu sarvo yarmān ayam asmāitedya |

In the first hemistich we must surely read purastād ā yacchatu and nudad bāhumān; then if prāthendro may be read the two pādas are brought to a fair state; but ā yacchat protendro would seem rather better. In c read yātumān, and for d ayam asmiṭy etya.

paçyāmi te vīryā jātaveda pra ṇo vrū-  
hi yātudhānā nṛcakṣā | tvayā sarve paritaptāṣ parasthād ā  
yāntu pra-

vruvāṇā upedam. z

In a read jātavedaṣ, in b yātudhānān nṛcakṣaḥ, in c purastād. In a Ç. has paçyāma which might stand here.

ā rambhasva vrāhmaṇā jātavedo hṛdi kāmā-  
ya randhaya | dūto nu agnir ut tiṣṭha yātudhānān ihā naya |

The ms. corrects to rabhasva; read thus: vrahmaṇā should probably be read also in a. With randhaya pāda b seems possible, though it is somewhat suspicious. In c read no agna.

tvam agne yātu-  
dhānān upabābaddhān ihā naya | athāiṣām indro vajreṇa  
apa çīrṣā vṛ-

çcatu

In b read upabaddhān, or upa baddhān as Whitney suggests. In c d read vajreṇāpa çīrṣāni; or perhaps vajreṇāpi with Ç.

idaṁ havir yātudhānān nadī henam ivā vahān nidān  
strī pumān karya

[f. 63b] çambhuvatām janaḥ

Read: idaṁ havir yātudhānān nadī phenam ivā vahat | ya  
idaṁ strī pumān akar iha sa stuvatām janaḥ z 8 z This is



the version of Ç.; I do not believe that our ms. indicates any variant.

yātudhānasya somapa jahi pra-  
jām nayasya ca | nya stuvā-  
nasya pātaya padam akṣatāvaram |

In b read nayasva, in c ni, in d param akṣy utāvaram.

ayaṁ stuvānāgamatvaṁ smota prati  
haryata vṛhaspate vaçe kṛtāgniṣomā viddhatam. z 4 z

Read: ayaṁ stuvāna āgamat taṁ smota prati haryata |  
vṛhaspate vaçe kṛtvāgniṣomā vi vidhyatam z 10 z 4 z

Several of the vertical bars (i. e. punctuation marks) are below not in the line.

5. [f. 63 b, l. 3.]

Ç. 4. 4.

yām tvā gandha-  
rvo śanad varuṇāya vratabhaje tām tvā vayaṁ khanāmasy  
oṣadhiyaṁ çevaha-  
rṣaṇī z vṛṇas te khanatāro vṛṣā tvāpaçy oṣadhe | vṛṣāsi  
vṛṣṇyā-  
vatī vṛṣaṇe tvā khanāmasi | ud uṣā ud a sūrya uç çuṣmā  
oṣadhī-  
nām. ud ejitu prajāpatir vṛṣā çuṣmeṇa vajinām. z ūr-  
dhvasrā-  
ṇim idaṁ kṛdhi yathā smi te virohato abhitaptam ivānati  
tatas te çuṣma-  
vattaram iyaṁ kṛṇotv aṣadhīḥ apām rasāuṣadhīnāmm atho  
vanaspatinām  
avo somasya trātāmy āriṣyam asi vṛṣṇehaṁ | açvasya ṛṣva-  
sya bhastasya puru-  
ṣasya ca | ye ṛṣabhasya vājas tam asmāi dehy oṣadhe | saṁ  
vājā ṛṣabhāṇām

saṁ ṣuṣmā oṣadhinām saṁ pūṣām indra vṛṣṇiham asyāi  
 dehi tanūbalaṁ | a-  
 dyāgne abhya savitur adya devi vṛhaspatiḥ adya me vra-  
 hmaṇate dhanur ivā tā-  
 nayā pasah ūrdhvās tiṣṭhanti giraya ūrdhvā vātā ud irate  
 ūrdhvo yaṁ mā-  
 sako mayūṣivāhād a bhūmyām ut tiṣṭho agra vidhonusva  
 vitesv āyantu nā-  
 nyādyāḥ ato droṣva pāyava nāvaglāyo dhi muṣka-  
 yoh. z 5 z anu 1 z

In the left margin opposite the last line is ācīrvacanāṁ; also a stanza end after tiṣṭho seems to be indicated by two slight oblique strokes above the line, in the next to the last line.

Read: yām tvā gandharvo 'khanad varuṇāya vratabhāje |  
 tām tvā vyaṁ khanāmasy oṣadhiṁ ṣepaharṣaṇim z 1 z vṛṣa-  
 ṇas te khanitāro vṛṣā tvam asy oṣadhe | vṛṣāsi vṛṣṇyāvati  
 vṛṣaṇe tvā khanāmasy z 2 z ud uṣā ud u sūrya uc chuṣmā  
 oṣadhinām | ud ejatu prajāpatir vṛṣā ṣuṣmeṇa vājinām z 3 z  
 †ūrdhvasrāṇim idam kṛdhi yathā sma te virohato abhitaptam  
 ivānati | tatas te ṣuṣmavattaram iyaṁ kṛnotv oṣadhiḥ z 4 z  
 apām rasa oṣadhinām atho vanaspatinām | atho somasya bhrā-  
 tāsy ārcyam asi vṛṣṇyam z 5 z aṣvasya ṛcasya bastasya pu-  
 ruṣasya ca | ya ṛṣabhasya vājās tān asmāi dehy oṣadhe z 6 z  
 saṁ vājā ṛṣabhānām saṁ ṣuṣmā oṣadhinām | saṁ pūṣām indra  
 vṛṣṇyam asmāi dehi tanūbalaṁ z 7 z adyāgne adya savitar  
 adya deva vṛhaspate | adya me vrahmaṇas pate dhanur ivā  
 tānayā pasah z 8 z ūrdhvās tiṣṭhanti giraya ūrdhvā vātā ud  
 irate | ūrdhvo 'yaṁ māmako māyuh †ṣivāhād ā bhūmyām z 9 z  
 ut tiṣṭho agre vidhonusva †vitesv āyantu nānyādyāḥ ato  
 droṣva pāyava† nāvaglāyo 'dhi muṣkayoh z 10 z 5 z anu 1 z

For st. 1a cf. Ppp. 3. 15. 2a where the ms. has varāho  
 ṣanad: in 1b vratabhāje seems good though vratabhāje might  
 stand, or the Ç. mṛtabhāje. Our st. 2 appears only in Kāuṣ.  
 40. 14. In 4a the general significance of ūrdhvasrāṇim is  
 clear, but the exact meaning I cannot see; if it is to be  
 emended ūrdhvasrāṇim or ūrdhvasānum might be acceptable.  
 In 8c mayūkhi ought to be considered. The suggestion for  
 10a seems possible; in 10c perhaps atho dravasya might stand;  
 but I get nothing satisfactory out of the stanza.

6. [f. 63b, l. 17.]

Ç. 4 5.

hiraṇyaçrṅgo vṛṣabho yas samadrād udācarat. tenā saha-  
 syenā vayanā ni janānt svāpayāmāsi | na bhūmim vāto vātu nāta pati  
 sūryaḥ z  
 jinaç ca sarvān svāpaya sanaç cendrasakhā caraṇ | vāihye-  
 ṣayā puṣṭhiça-  
 [f. 64a] yā nārīr yā talpaçivare | striyo yāṣ puṇyagandhās  
 tās sarvāt svāpayā-  
 masi | yejan-ejar ajagrabham cakṣuṣ prāṇam ajagrabham  
 aṅgāny agrabham sarvā-  
 rātrīṇām uta çarvare z yaste yaç carati yasya tiṣṭhan vi-  
 paçyati | teṣām saṁ  
 dadhso kṣāṇi yathedaṁ harmyam tathā | sapta mātā sapta  
 pitā sapta çvā sapta  
 vispatiḥ svapantus sarve jñātayas sarvam ni çvājanam  
 çayyaḥ svapna  
 svapnādhikarāṇena sarvam ni şvapayā jinaṁ | otsūryam  
 anyāt svāpaya dvi-  
 ṣaṁ caratād aham indra ivāriṣṭo akṣataḥ. z 1 zz

Read: hiraṇyaçrṅgo vṛṣabho yas samadrād udācarat | tenā  
 sahasyenā vayanā ni janānt svāpayāmāsi z 1 z na bhūmim  
 vāto ud vāti nāti paçyati sūryaḥ | janānç ca sarvān svāpaya  
 çunaç cendrasakhā caraṇ z 2 z vāihyeçayāṣ proṣṭheçayā nārīr  
 yāṣ talpaçivariḥ | striyo yāṣ puṇyagandhās tās sarvās svāpa-  
 yāmāsi z 3 z ejad-ejad ajagrabham cakṣuṣ prāṇam ajagra-  
 bham | aṅgāny agrabham sarvā rātrīṇām uta çarvare z 4 z ya  
 āste yaç ca carati yaç ca tiṣṭhan vipaçyati | teṣām saṁ dadhmo  
 kṣāṇi yathedaṁ harmyam tathā z 5 z svaptu mātā svaptu pitā  
 svaptu çvā svaptu viçpatiḥ | svapantu sarve jñātayas sarvam  
 ni svājanam çayayaḥ z 6 z svapna svapnādhikarāṇena sarvam  
 ni svāpayā janam | otsūryam anyān svāpaya dvyuṣaṁ caratād  
 aham indra ivāriṣṭo akṣataḥ z 7 z 1 z

In the top margin of f. 64a the ms. has ssvā correcting sarvāt svā.

The corrections follow pretty closely the version of Ç.: in 5a I have inserted ca in accord with RV. 7. 55. 6a. The

reading of 6d offered is a conjecture, attempting to keep close to the ms., where however a confusion may have arisen by anticipation of 7 b; for 6d Ç. has svaptv ayam abhito janah.

7. [f. 64a, l. 7.]

Ç. 2. 33.

akṣībhyām

s te nāsikābhyām karṇābhyām āsyād uta | yakṣmaṁ cīrṣa-  
nyam mastiṣkāl la-  
lāṭād vi vayemasi | grīvābhyas ta uṣṇihābhyas kīkasābhyo  
anūkyāḥ ya-  
kṣmaṁ doṣanyam ānsābhyām purasto vi vahāmasi |  
klomnas te hrdayābhyo halī-  
kṣmāt pārçvābhyām yakṣma satastābhyām klihamyo yatanas  
te vi varhāmasi | ātre-  
bhyas te gudābhyo vanugdhyād utarād uta | yakṣmaṁ pā-  
ṇyor aṅgulibhyo nakhebhyo vi  
vrhāmasi | hastebhyas te māṇsebhyas srāvabhyo dhama-  
ni\*ah yakṣmaṁ prṣṭibhyo ma  
majjabhyo nābhyām vir vahāmasi | ūrūbhyām dveṣṭhivad-  
bhyām pārṣṇibhyām pupadā-  
bhyām yakṣmaṁ bhajaddhyam çronibhyām bhaṁsaso vir  
vahāmasi | aṅgād-aṅgāl lo-  
mno-lomno baddham parvaṇi-parvaṇi | yakṣman tatasyām  
te vayam viṣkaṇcam vi va-  
rhāmasi | aṅgād-aṅgād aham tava puruṣaḥ. z 2 z

Read: akṣībhyām te nāsikābhyām karṇābhyām āsyād uta |  
yakṣmaṁ cīrṣanyam mastiṣkāl lalāṭād vi vrhāmasi z 1 z grīvā-  
bhyas ta uṣṇihābhyas kīkasābhyo anūkyāḥ | yakṣmaṁ doṣanyam  
ānsābhyām urasto vi vrhāmasi z 2 z klomnas te hrdayābhyo  
halīkṣmāt pārçvābhyām | yakṣmaṁ matasnābhyām plihno ya-  
kṣnas te vi vrhāmasi z 3 z āntrebhyas te gudābhyo †vanugdhyād  
udarād uta | yakṣmaṁ pāṇyor aṅgulibhyo nakhebhyo vi vrhā-  
masi z 4 z hastebhyas te māṇsebhyas snāvabhyo dhamani-  
bhyāḥ | yakṣmaṁ prṣṭibhyo majjabhyo nābhyā vi vrhāmasi  
z 5 z ūrubhyām te aṣṭhivadbhyām pārṣṇibhyām prapadā-

bhyām | yakṣmaṁ bhasadyaṁ cṛoṇibhyāṁ bhaṁsaso vi vṛhā-  
masi z 6 z aṅgād-aṅgāl lomno-lomno baddhaṁ parvaṇi-par-  
vaṇi | yakṣmaṁ tvacasyaṁ te vayaṁ viṣvaṇcaṁ vi vṛhāmasi  
z 7 z 2 z

At the beginning of 2d the ms. corrects pu to mu.

In 4b the vanugdhyād of the ms. may be a corruption of  
vaniṣṭhor in Ç.; gdhy and ṣṭh are somewhat similar. In 5a  
the asthibhyas of Ç. seems better than our hastebhyas, which  
latter might easily be a misreading for the former.

8. [f. 64a, l. 17.]

agne rakṣohā

tigmas tigmacṛṅga ṛṣirā ṛṣayaṣ kaviṣ kavitaṁ apāgha-  
çaṇ-  
saṁ duritāṁ sahatāṁ arātiṁ pratyāṁ pratiharaṇenā aghā-  
yate  
[f. 64b] aghaṁ prati harāma | indro rakṣohā z somo ra-  
kṣāuhā z varuṇo rakṣohā z  
vāyu rakṣohā | tvāṣṭā rakṣohā | dhātā rakṣohā z savitā ra-  
kṣohā z  
sūryo rakṣohā z candramā rakṣohā | vṛhaspatī rakṣohā z  
prajāpatī rakṣo-  
hā | parameṣṭhī rakṣohā z tigmas tigmacṛṅga ṛṣirā ṛṣayaṣ  
kaviṣ ka-  
vitāṁ | apāghaçaṁsaṁ duritāṁ sahatāṁ arā\*im \*\*\*\*\*ṇ pra-  
tiharaṇenā  
aghāyate aghaṁ prati nurāma. z 3 z

Read: agnī rakṣohā tigmas tigmacṛṅga ṛṣirā ṛṣayaṣ kaviṣ  
kavitaṁ | apāghaçaṁsaṁ duritāṁ sahatāṁ arātiṁ pratyāṁ  
pratiharaṇenā | aghāyate aghaṁ prati harāma z 1 z indro  
rakṣohā . . . z 2 z somo rakṣohā . . . z 3 z varuṇo rakṣohā  
. . . z 4 z vāyū rakṣohā . . . z 5 z tvaṣṭā rakṣohā . . . z 6 z  
dhātā rakṣohā . . . z 7 z savitā rakṣohā . . . z 8 z sūryo  
rakṣohā . . . z 9 z candramā rakṣohā . . . z 10 z vṛhaspati  
rakṣohā . . . z 11 z prajāpatī rakṣohā . . . z 12 z parameṣṭhī  
rakṣohā tigmas tigmacṛṅga ṛṣirā ṛṣayaṣ kaviṣ kavitaṁ | apā-

ghaçaṁsaṁ duritaṁ sahatāṁ arātiṁ pratyañ pratiharapeṇā |  
aghāyate aghaṁ prati harāma z 13 z 3 z

Cf. MS. 1. 5. 1: 67. 5 and TB. 3. 1. 1. 4; 2. 8. In TB. we find apāghaçaṁsaṁ nudatāṁ arātiṁ, which suggests the possibility of prati nudāma here; but harāma is clear in the first writing of the formula and nurāma at the end may well be only the result of confusion of signs.

9. [f. 64b, l. 6.]

Ç. 7. 109.

sarṁvasava iti to nāmadhe-  
yam ugraṁpaçyā rāṣṭrabhr̥to hy akṣā | tasmāi ta indo ha-  
viṣā vidhema |  
vayaṁ syāma patayo rayiṇām z yadam ugrāya babhrava  
yo kṣeṣu tanuva-  
çī | ghr̥tena kalpaṁ çikṣāma | sa no mṛdāta idṛçe | ghr̥tam  
agne a-  
psarābhyo vaha tvaṁ pāṁsur̥ṁ nakhebh̥yas siktāpaç ca |  
yathābhāgo havyadātīṁ  
juṣaṇo madantu devā ubhayāni havyā yo no devo dhanam  
idaṁ ti-  
deça yo kṣāṇām grahaṇaṁ çaṣaṇaṁ ca | sa no vatu havir  
idaṁ juṣā-  
ṇo gandharvāis sadamādaṁ madema | yāpsarasas sadamā-  
daṁ pādaṇty anta-  
rā havirdhānaṁ sūryaṁ ca | tā no hastaṁ kṛtena saṁ  
sr̥jantu sapatnaṁ naṣ ki-  
tavaṁ raṇdhayantu | yad devāṁ tātito huve vrahmacaryaṁ  
yad ūvima | akṣā-  
ṇ yad babhrūṇālabhe tā te no mṛdānta idṛçe ādinavam  
ity ekā z

z 4 z

Read: sarṁvasava iti vo nāmadheyam ugraṁpaçyā rāṣṭrabhr̥to  
hy akṣāḥ | tasmāi ta indo haviṣā vidhema vayaṁ syāma patayo  
rayiṇām z 1 z idaṁ ugrāya babhrave yo 'kṣeṣu tanūvaçī |  
ghr̥tena kalpaṁ çikṣāma sa no mṛdātīdṛçe z 2 z ghr̥tam agne

apsarābhyo vaha tvaṁ pāṁsūn akṣebhyas sikatā apaç ca | ya-  
thābhāgo havyadāstīm juṣāṇo madantu devā ubhayāni havyā  
z 3 z yo no devo dhanam idaṁ dideça yo 'kṣāpām grahaṇaṁ  
çeṣaṇaṁ ca | sa no 'vatu havir idaṁ juṣāṇo gandharvāis sa-  
dhamādaṁ madema z 4 z yā apsarāsas sadhamādaṁ madanty  
antarā havirdhānaṁ sūryaṁ ca | tā no hastaṁ kṛtena saṁ  
srjantu sapatnān naṣ kitavām randhayantu z 5 z yad devān  
nāthito huve vrahmacaryaṁ yad ūṣima | akṣān yad babhrūn  
ālebhe te no mṛdantv idrçe z 6 z ādinavam ity ekā z 7 z 9 z

In 2c kalpam seems possible, but it might be only a cor-  
ruption from kalim (so Ç.) through kalyam; Whitney reports  
kalyam as the Ppp. reading. In 6b the ms. clearly has  
ūvima but it does not seem at all acceptable, so I have read  
with Ç., and in 6c I have taken the suggestion of Bloomfield  
and Whitney ālebhe. The previous occurrence of st. 7 in this  
ms., as indicated, must have been in some of the lost portions.  
The stanza in Ç. reads ādinavaṁ pratidivne ghrtenāsmāñ abhi  
kṣara | vṛkṣam ivāçanyā jahi yo asmān pratidivatyati.

10. [f. 64b, l. 17.]

bhagas tveto nayatu hastagrhya vṛhaspatiḥ raetā  
te astu | devas tvā savitā satyadharopasatyām namasyā  
kṛṇotu

In pāda b read puraetā; in cd read satyadhara upasadyām  
namasyām. Pāda a = Ç. 14. 1. 20; pāda b = Ç. 7. 8. 1b.

yām a-  
çvinā madhukaçām devāgre ajanayaṁ tayā tvā patyām  
avatām kṛṇvo  
[f. 65a] madhumatī vayam. z

For b read devā agre ajanayan; if the words are rightly  
divided in c patyām (occurring also in 3c and 6c) escapes  
me unless it means "dominion". For d read kṛṇmo madhu-  
matīm vayam.

uttārā svaçruvā bhava nā-  
nāndud apaçikṣā | viça tvā  
patyām kṛṇva bhavā devṛṣu priyaḥ

In a read çvaçruvām, and for b nanāndur upaçikṣāḥ. For c a possible reading is viças tvā patyām kṛṇvantu (understanding ā + kṛ): for d read bhavāsi devṛṣu priyā. Cf. Q. 14. 1. 44; ApMB. 1. 6. 6; SMB. 1. 2. 20.

In the top margin over nānāndud apa the ms. gives ru na.

adbhir āttamānam ta-  
nvaṁ çumbhamānā gṛhā-  
n prehi mahiṣī bhavāmi | tatra tvāhur gṛhapatyāya devāḥ  
prajāpatir ja-  
radāṣṭir yathāsat.

In a read āttamānam, in b bhavāsi: in c garhapatyāya. For pāda a cf. Q. 12. 3. 30b, and for c Q. 14. 1. 20c.

yad uttaram ārohantī vyasyāntiṣ pṛda-  
nyataḥ | adbhi-  
ṣ tvā çattor mūrdhvānam sahaputrā virād bhavaḥ

Read: ud uttaram ārohanti vyasyanti pṛtanyataḥ | udbhi-  
ntsva çattor mūrdhānam sahaputrā virād bhava. z 5 z

This is a variant of ApMB. 1. 6. 5, where pāda c is mūrdhānam patyur ā roha; our suggestion is only a makeshift.

çvaçrūṇām çvaçurāṇām gṛṇām  
ca dhanasya ca | vi rāja patyām deveṣu sajātānām virād  
bhava |

In b read gṛhāṇām, in c devṛṣu, and in d virād. Cf. ApMB. 1. 6. 7.

yad gi-  
riṣu parvateṣu goṣv açveṣu yar madhu | yenākhyābhyāṣi-  
cyanta tenā-  
ham asyā mūrdhāna abhiṣīncāmi nāryaḥ |



In a read giriṣu, in b yan; in c yenākṣā abhya\*, in d probably mūrdhānam, and in e nāryāḥ. Pādas ab = Ç. 9. 1. 18ab; c = Ç. 14. 1. 36c; for the rest cf. SMB. 1. 7. 5.

yad varco gavi kalyāṇe  
yad vā sūrya vase tṛṇe | abhyañjanasya yad varcas tena  
mānājmi varcasā  
z 5 z anu 2 z

Read: yad varco gavi kalyāṇe yad vā sūrye 'vase tṛṇe |  
abhyañjanasya yad varcas tena mānājmi varcasā z 8 z 5 z  
anu 2 z

11. [f. 65a, l. 10.]

yenācarad uṇanā kāvyo gre vidvān kratū-  
nām uta devatānām. | sahaḥṛdayena haviṣā juhomi sa-  
dhrīcī-  
nām vo mano stūgram | mahat satyam mahad dhavir uṇa-  
nāṣ kāvyo mahān. | devā-  
nām ugrāṇām ṣaṭam ḥṛdayāni sahācara | aham satyena sa-  
yuj ā-  
carāmy aham devīm anumati\* pra veda | indredamvānām  
hṛdayam vo stu  
sadhrīcinām vo mano stūgram | tvaṣṭā vāyuṣ kaṣyapa indram  
agnir manasā  
tvāyam haviṣas padena | avindām ṣaktro rajasi praviṣtam  
sadhrīcī-  
nām vo mano stūgram | yename dyāvāpṛthivy ataṣkartur  
yenābhavantarikṣam  
[f. 65b] svar yat. | manasā vidvān haviṣā juhomi sadhrīcī-  
nām vo mano stūgram dyāvā-  
pṛthivī hṛdayam sasūvadhrī yenedam tvaṣṭā vy akṛṇotu  
dhīraḥ tasyā uṇa-  
naṣ kratubhis samvidānaṣ cittam viveda manasi praviṣtam |  
cityam cāitad ākūti-  
tiṣ ca yena devā viṣehire | etat satyasya ṣṛaddhaya ṛṣayas  
sapta juhvatī  
z 1 z

Read: yenācarād uṇāṇā kāvyo 'gre vidvān kratūnām uta devatānām | sahrdayena haviṣā juhomi sadhrīcinām vo mano 'stūgram z 1 z mahat satyaṁ mahad dhavir uṇāṇā kāvyo mahān | devānām ugrāpām ṣatām hrdayāni sahācarā z 2 z ahaṁ satyena sayuj ā carāmy ahaṁ devīm anumatiṁ pra veda | indro devānām hrdayaṁ vo 'stu sadhrīcinām vo mano 'stūgram z 3 z tvaṣṭā vāyuṣ kaṣyapa indro agnir manasā tvāyan haviṣas padena | avindan tṣaktro rajasi praviṣtaṁ sadhrīcinām vo mano 'stūgram z 4 z yeneme dyāvāprthivi caskambhur yenābhavad antarikṣaṁ svar yat | manasā vidvān haviṣā juhomi sadhrīcinām vo mano 'stūgram z 5 z dyāvāprthivi hrdayaṁ sasūvāte yenedaṁ tvaṣṭā vy ākr̥potu dhiraḥ | tasyoṇā kratubhis samvidānaḥ cittam viveda manasi praviṣtaṁ z 6 z cittam cāitad ākūtiḥ ca yena devā viṣehire | etat satyasya ṣraddhayaḥ ṛṣayas sapta juhvati z 7 z 1 z

In the right margin of f. 65a opposite l. 11 is dhrici; and in the top margin of f. 65b is ṣri perhaps intended to correct sasūvadhrī.

In 2b and 6a it might be well to write uṇāṇas. In 4c I incline to think cittam a probable reading. In 5a the reading of the ms. may be ataṣkantur; it seems probable that a form of skambh is intended.

12. [f. 65b, l. 5.]

G. 4. 31.

tvayā manyo saratham ārujanta ṛṣamāṇāso ṛṣadā  
marutvaṁ  
tīkṣṇa iṣava āyudhā samṣiṣānopa pra yanti naro agnirūpāḥ  
agnir i-  
va manyo ttvāra sāsahasvas senānīn nas sahure huta edhi  
jitvāya ṣattrū-  
nvi bhajāsu veda | ojo mimāno vi mṛdho nudamba sahasva  
manyo abhimā-  
tim ammahe rujan mṛṇan prehi ṣatṛn. | ugram te ṣraddho  
nanv ā rurugle va-

çī vaçaṁ nayāsaha ekaja dhvaṁ eko bahūnām asi manyam  
 īdatāṣ pa-  
 çūn-paçūn yuddhāya saṁçiçādhi | akṛdyaduda kayā aja  
 vyaṁ  
 dyumantaṁ ghoṣaṁ vijayāya kṛṇmahe | vijeṣakṛd indra  
 ivānava-  
 vravo smākam manyom adhipā bhaveha | viyaṁ te nāma  
 sahure gr-  
 ṇāmasi vidmā tam utsaṁ yava ābabhūtha | ābhūtyā sahasā  
 vajra  
 sāyakas saho bibharṣy abhibhūta uttaraṁ | kratvā no manyo  
 saha ma-  
 dy edhi mahādhanasya puruhūta saṁ sṛji z saṁsṛṣṭaṁ  
 dhanam ubhayaṁ  
 samākṛtaṁ asmabhyaṁ dattaṁ varuṇaḥ ca manyo | bhiyo  
 dadhānā hṛdayeṣu  
 çattravaḥ parājitā yaṁtu paramāṁ parāvataṁ z 2 z

Read: tvayā manyo saratham ārujanta ṛṣamāṇāso dhr̥ṣatā  
 marutvan | tīkṣṇeṣava āyudhā saṁçiçānā upa pra yanti nara  
 agnirūpāḥ z 1 z agniṁ iva manyo tvara sāsahasva senānir nas  
 sahure hūta edhi | jītvāya çatrūn vi bhajasva veda ojo mimāno  
 vi mṛdho nudaṣva z 2 z sahasva manyo abhimātīm asme rujaṁ  
 mṛṇaṁ pramṛṇaṁ prehi çatrūn | ugraṁ te çardho nanv ā ru-  
 rujre vaçi vaçaṁ nayāsā ekaja tvam z 3 z eko bahūnām asi  
 manyav īdatāṣ paçūn-paçūn yuddhāya saṁ çiçādhi | akṛttaruk  
 tvayā yujā vyaṁ dyumantaṁ ghoṣaṁ vijayāya kṛṇmahe z 4 z  
 vijeṣakṛd indra ivānavavravo 'smākam manyo adhipā bhaveha |  
 priyaṁ te nāma sahure gr̥ṇāmasi vidmā tam utsaṁ yata āba-  
 bhūtha z 5 z ābhūtyā sahasā vajra sāyaka saho bibharṣy abhi-  
 bhūta uttaraṁ | kratvā no manyo saho medy edhi mahādha-  
 nasya puruhūta saṁsṛji z 6 z saṁsṛṣṭaṁ dhanam ubhayaṁ sa-  
 mākṛtaṁ asmabhyaṁ dattaṁ varuṇa ca manyo | bhiyo da-  
 dhānā hṛdayeṣu çattravaḥ parājitā yaṁtu paramāṁ parāvataṁ  
 z 7 z 2 z

In the TB. version of st. 1b (TB. 2. 4. 1. 10) harṣamāṇāso  
 stands, and it might well be read here. The reading of our  
 ms. in 4a does not seem to offer any help; I have adopted  
 the RV. reading. For 7d Ç. and RV. have parājītāso apa  
 ni layantām.

In 2d the ms. corrects to nudaṣva.

13. [f. 65b, l. 18.]

Ç. 2. 25 (in part).

çam no de-

vī prṣṇyaparṇy açam nirṛtaye karat. | ugrā hi kaṇvajambha-  
nī tām

[f. 66a] tvāhārṣam sahasvatī |

In pāda a read prṣṇiparṇy, in b 'karat; in d sahasvatīm.

sadānvāghnī prathamā prṣṇyaparṇy ajāyata | tayā  
kaṇvasyām çiraç chinadmi çakunīr iva z

Below the line after prathamā a colon is indicated. Read  
prṣṇiparṇy in b, kaṇvasya in c, and çakuner in d.

ūrjabhṛtam prāṇabhṛtam pra-  
jānām upatarpanīm | sarvās tvā prṣṇyaparṇi yataṣ kṇvā  
anī-  
çat. |

In b read upatarpanīm; probably ūrjabhṛtam can stand in  
this form. There seems to be reference here to female kṇvās,  
so for the second hemistich we may read sarvās tvam prṣṇi-  
parṇy ataṣ kṇvā anīnaçah.

samākṛtīn āniradāta stīrṇaçṛṅgeva ṛṣabhaḥ rāyam ka  
kaṇvam pāpmānam prṣṇyaparṇi mahambatī |

I have not been able to get a satisfactory form for pāda  
a; sam ākrītīr anīnaçah may be something like what was in-  
tended. In b read stīrṇaçṛṅga iva: in c arāyam kaṇvam, and  
for d prṣṇiparṇi sahasvatī.

tvam agre prṣṇiparṇy agnir i-  
va prṇvahi kṇvā jīvitayopanī | grāmeṇā veçaya tamān-  
si yatra vā çhās tat pāpīr apa pātayah

It seems best to put these six pādas into one stanza; they are parallel to parts of stt. 4 and 5 in Ç. With some bold emendations we may read: tvam agre pr̥cipar̥ṇy agnir iva pranudann ihi | kaṇvā jivitayopanir girim enā ā veçaya | tamāṁsi yatra vā chāyās tat pāpir apa pātayaḥ z 5 z

rāyam aṣṭkṣāvānaṁ yaç ca sphā-  
tim jahiruṣati | garbhādaṁ kaṇvaṁ nāçayaṁ pr̥ṣṇyaparni  
sahasvati |

Read arāyam in a, jihirṣati in b; probably nāçaya in c; for d pr̥ciparni sahasvati.

ā no gāyāno gr̥hān yā ca sphātim upāharān | ugre pr̥ṣṇya-  
par̥ṇi-  
s tam kaṁ kaṇvām ānaçāitaḥ z 3 z

Read: ya no gayān yā no gr̥hān yā ca sphātim upāharan | ugre pr̥ciparni tvam tam kaṇvām ānaçayetah z 7 z 3 z

#### 14. [f. 66a, l. 10.]

yasminn āsistihita i-  
d antaḥ chalyo veṇur veṣṭanaṁ tejanaṁ ca | māu nirjanitri  
janayehi  
çṛṇvam ayaṁ tātum ayata hitu prahita |

In pāda a a possible reading might be āsīt sthita id antaḥ; the regular sandhi would then call for çalyo in b. For c perhaps so nirjanitri janayeha sṛṇyam is possible, and for d perhaps iyaṁ tātum etu hetih prahitā. These are merely suggestions, and to call them possible may be too bold.

asti bhittvā yada majja-  
ṣ pāpātha yadi vā saritaḥ puruṣaṁ nikāme | urvīm gavyū-  
tis aty ehy a-  
rvāñ. paçcād açmīn uddhatas sūryasya |

In a read *asthi* and *yadi majjūṣaḥ papātha*, in b *sṛtaḥ* and *nikṣāse*. In c read *gavyūtim*, in d *raçmīn*.

mātariçvān pavamānāstvā-  
yam sūryābhrājan tanvādṛcekāḥ | asno gandhāt pumsaḥ  
praty avasva vi-  
mucyasva yo nyayāste tra |

For a b we may probably read *mātariçvan pavamānāstv*  
*ayam sūryabhrājan tanvām dṛekaḥ*; in d yo 'nya āste 'tra.

praty avasvātāu saty ehy arvāṅk  
tāns te vidma ba-  
hudhāva vīrye | imās svasāro ayam it pitā ceyam te mātē-  
mam e-  
hi bandhum |

For a the best reading I can get is *praty avasva tām aty*  
*ehy arvāṅ*, and in b perhaps *vīryāya*. The second hemistich  
is good if we read *pitā ceyam*.

amitrāir astvā yadi vā sumitrāir devāir vā  
deva prahitāva-  
[f. 66b] çṛṣṭāvadwān. çṛgaṁ puruṣe jahāti z çṛṅgo çikharas  
sam srjāmi-  
taḥ

In a read *amitrāir* and *sumitrāir*, and perhaps *astā* for  
*astvā*: in b *devi prahitāvasṛṣṭā*: in c probably *āvidhyān sṛgaṁ*.  
For d I would read *çṛṅgi çikharas sam srjāsitaḥ*; but an in-  
strumental case would seem preferable to *itaḥ*. The ms. cor-  
rects to *sṛgaṁ* in c.

siṣāsi saktō yadi vāsy agre yadi vāsy aritaḥ puruṣa-  
sya māmse  
dadhrṇ paçān upavṛjya muktākṣi çalyaḥ kṛṇutām āyinā-  
yahastā

In a we might read *çikhāsi*; in b *ṛtaḥ*. In c read *dadhrk*  
*pāçān upavrajya tṛmuktākṣi*; possibly *moktā* is intended. In

d I can only suggest āyino ahastān; there is no sign of the end of the stanza.

(hastā)bhy a-  
 staṁ çamayo bhrīyamāṇo vahiṣṭhāpacyām vīrudhām bale-  
 na | adbhīṣ prā-  
 ṇakta syās satyaktāḥ koçe jāmīnām nihataṁ hy aṁsaḥ.

Perhaps a possible form for pādas ab is abhy āstām samo yo bhrīyamāṇo vahiṣṭhāpacyām vīrudhām balena; all but the last two words appear very uncertain. For c it seems as if we might have adbhīṣ prāṇiktaḥ syās satyaniktaḥ; or perhaps we might read adbhīṣ prāṇaktu yas satyaktāḥ. For d read koçe jāmīnām nihitaṁ hy aṁṣaḥ.

ṣaṣṭirātre ṣa-  
 ṣṭīçasya çalyasya paridhiṣ kṛtaḥ yatas tvam adya devayam  
 āsthā |  
 nā çyāvayāmasi |

Read: ṣaṣṭirātre ṣaṣṭīkasya çalyasya paridhiṣ kṛtaḥ | yatas tvām adya devīm āsthānāt çyāvayāmasi z 8 z 4 z

In pāda a ṣaṣṭīkasya seems preferable to the possible(?) vocative ṣaṣṭīçasya. In c devayam might be acceptable.

There are some indications that this is a charm to accompany the making of an arrow; but the whole thing is unclear to me and the suggestions offered are based only on possibilities of the palaeography of this ms.

15. [f. 66b, l. 7.]

Ç. 4. 12.

sam majā majjñā bhavatu sam u te pa-  
 ruṣā paruḥ sam  
 te māṁsasya visrastam samstrāvam asu parva te |

Read majjā in pāda a, put colon after paruḥ, and read samstrāvam astu in d.

majjñā majjñā saṁ dhīyatā-  
m adhnāstha vi rohatu | srāva te saṁ dadhmā snārdhnā  
carmaṇā carma roha-  
tū

Read majjā for the first word in a, asthnāsthi in b; for c  
read snāva te saṁ dadhmaḥ snāvnā, in d rohatu.

loma lomnā saṁ dhīyatām tvacam saṁkalpayā tvacam |  
asṛk te snā  
rohatu mānsaṁ mānsena rohatu |

For b read tvacā saṁ kalpayā tvacam; in c read 'snā.

rohiṇī saṁrohiṇy āthnaç çirṇasya  
rohiṇī rohiṇī rohiṇyām arha, ātāsi rohiṇy asy oṣadhe

The consistent reading of rohiṇī here probably has no sig-  
nificance; and there seems to be a dittography after çirṇasya.  
Something like the following might be considered possible:  
rohiṇī saṁrohaṇy asy asthnaç çirṇasya rohiṇī | rohaṇyām tarha  
ābhāsi rohiṇy asy oṣadhe.

ya-  
d a çirṇe yad a dyuttam asthi peṣṭam tātpunaḥ | dhātā tat  
sarvaṁ kalpayā  
yā maṁ dadhata paruṣā paruḥ |

Read: yad u çirṇaṁ yad u dyuttam asthi peṣṭam ta ātma-  
naḥ | dhātā tat sarvaṁ kalpayāt saṁ dadhat paruṣā paruḥ.

Whitney reports for Ppp. reading in cd kalpayāt saṁ  
dadat.

yadi vajro viṣṛṣṭā sthālakā  
jātu patitvā yadi vā viriṣṭam | vṛkṣād vā yadi vāvibhyasi  
çī-  
rṣarbhūr iti sa evaṁ san dhāmi te paruḥ

In a read vakro and sthālakā; and in b viriṣṭā would  
seem a little better. In c the intensive of vyadh seems to be



intended and we may probably read vāvyadhyase; unless we may read vā vidhyase which does not seem to me as good: with -bhur the rest may stand I think.

ut tiṣṭha prehi sam u dhā-  
hi te paruḥ sam te dhātā dadhātu tanno viriṣṭām rathasya  
cakra pyupava-

[f. 67a] r yathāiryathāiti sukhasya nābhiḥ prati tiṣṭha evam  
z 5 z anu 3 zz

Read: ut tiṣṭha prehi sam u dhāhi te paruḥ sam te dhātā  
dadhātu tanvo viriṣṭam | rathas sucakras supavir yathāiti su-  
khas sunābhiḥ prati tiṣṭha evam z 7 z 5 z anu 3 z

With the corrections suggested the form of this hymn be-  
comes fairly satisfactory: it varies notably from the version of  
Ç., and generally for the better.

16. [67a, l. 2.]

Cf. R.V. 1. 191. 1—7 passim.

udyann ādityo guṇān hantu sūryo nimrocan raçmibhir u  
vantu | tāvan no a-

dhi samhataṁ apsarā mūlam aghanad gandharvaḥ pary  
avravit. tena vo vattra-

hā sūryo ni jasyān ni mṛtrata ghnām | guṇām hantv ā-  
yatī ghnān hantu

parāyatī ghrāṇān vaghnatī hantu ghuṇān pināṣṭi piçatīm  
ghu-

ṇānaḥ kiñ caneha vaḥ pravuddhā abhūtana | pradoṣam  
taskara iva |

guṇānā madhyata jyeṣṭhaḥ kaniṣṭhā uta madhyamaḥ hatā  
vā sarve jñā-

tayo hatā mātā hataḥ pitā yathā phena udake dadṛçāno  
ni

jasyatu evān vayanḥ ghuṇān sarvān sākam vācā ni jāsa-  
yāma-

si | ni gāmvo goṣṭhe asadan ni mṛgāso avikṣata | nityam  
 ādi-  
 tyā raçmibhir ghrāṇān sarvān ajījasah udyān rathīn ā ta-  
 nuṣva bā-  
 na vabhi sam arpayā | ghrāṇā tvaṁ parvaṇāditya ghorayā  
 tanvā ta-  
 paḥ. z 1 z

Read: udyann ādityo ghrāṇān hantu sūryo nimrocān raçmi-  
 bhir u hantu | tāvan no adhi samhatam z 1 z apsarā mūlam  
 akhanad gandharvaṣ pary avravīt | tena vo vṛtrahā sūryo ni  
 jasyān ni tṁṣṛata ghrāṇān z 2 z ghrāṇān hantv āyati ghrāṇān  
 hantu parāyati | ghrāṇān avaghnati hantu ghrāṇān pināṣṭi  
 piṇṣati z 3 z ghrāṇāṣ kiṁ caneha vaḥ | pratibuddhā abhūtana  
 pradoṣaṁ taskara iva z 4 z ghrāṇānām madhyato jyēṣṭhaṣ  
 kaniṣṭha uta madhyamaḥ | hatā vaṣ sarve jñātayo hatā mātā  
 hataṣ pitā z 5 z yathā phena udake dadṛçāno ni jasyati |  
 evā vyaṁ ghrāṇān sarvān sākāṁ vācā ni jāsayāmasi z 6 z ni  
 gāvo goṣṭhe asadan ni mṛgāso avikṣata | nityam āditya raçmi-  
 bhir ghrāṇān sarvān ajījasah z 7 z udyān raçmīn ā tanuṣva  
 bāṇā vābhi sam arpayā | ghrāṇān tvaṁ parvaṇāditya ghorayā  
 tanvā tapaḥ z 8 z 1 z

It seems clear that there are eight stanzas here, but the first and fourth each lack a pāda: in st. 1 I believe it was pāda c, and in st. 4 pāda b. For the missing(?) pāda of st. 1 we have no hint, but we can see a parallel for a first hemistich of st. 4 in RV. 1. 191. 7cd adṛṣṭāḥ kiṁ caneha vaḥ sarve sākāṁ ni jasyata. In st. 2d ni mṛdnād might be read. Our st. 3 is a variant of RV. 1. 191. 2; for our 4cd cf. RV. st. 5; our 7ab = RV. 4ab = Ç. 6. 52. 2ab.

17. [f. 67a, l. 13.]

Contains Ç. 7. 56. 8; 6. 138. 3ab: RV. 1. 191. 13—15.

yānataṣ paraṇato dāror ivāpatakṣaṇaṁ | ça-  
 rkoṭo nāma vāsi kutaṣ tvaṁ vithavānaça |

Read vā asi in pāda c, and viṣavān asi in d.

ya ubhayena praharasi  
puçchena cāsyena ca | yāsyē cana te viṣaṁ kutas te' pu-  
çchadhāv asat.

Read āsyē in c, and puçchadhāv in d. Ç. 7. 56. 8cd has āsyē na te viṣaṁ kim u te puçchadhāv asat; but it does not seem necessary to have a negative in our pāda c.

vi-  
dapsutaçya dānavasya tasya tvaṁ naṣād asi | tasyāgre ra-  
saṁ viṣaṁ ta-  
tas tvardhārasaṁ viṣaṁ |

The general import of the first hemistich is fairly clear, I believe; for vidapsutaçya I have thought of yad apsu tasya, or else some form of vi+dabh; for naṣād perhaps we might read niṣād in the sense of "abode". In pāda c read 'rasaṁ, and in d possibly tavārasaṁ.

rasārasaṁ tvākaraṁ vadhre va-  
dhriṁ tvākaraṁ vadhriṁ  
tvā cakrun devā amṛtāsāsuraṁ |

In a read arasārasaṁ, at the end of b tvākaram; in c cakrun for d probably amṛtāso asuram iva.

yattakaṣ kakumbhakas takam bhi-  
[f. 67b] nadmi taṁ mayā | tato viṣaṁ parā sica | sapācīm  
anu saṁvitaṁ

Read: iyattakaṣ kuṣumbhakas takam bhinadmi taṁ mayā |  
tato viṣaṁ parā sicam apācīm anu saṁvatam z 5 z

RV. has açmanā at the end of b which is better than taṁ mayā, if the latter is really possible. Perhaps sica would be better in c.

imaḥ pa-  
çcā mayūryas sapta svasāro agruvaḥ | tās te viṣaṁ vi jahur  
udakaṁ kumbhi-  
nīr iva | kūpāt kulajanīr iva |

Read: imāḥ paçcād mayūryas sapta svasāro agruvaḥ | tās  
te viṣam vi jahur udakaḥ kumbhinīr iva kūpāt kulajanīr iva  
z 6 z

RV. has pañca in a, in c it has jabhrira ° °. Whether there  
is really a fifth pāda seems to me doubtful.

navānām navatīnām ity ekā z z  
z 2 z

The reference here is to Ppp. 3. 9. 7 which was edited as  
follows: navānām navatīnām viṣasya ropuṣiṇām | sarvāsām agra-  
bham nāma vitāpetārasam viṣam.

18. [f. 67b, l. 4.]

vrātam aha sapakṣiṇām | vrātaṁ tuṇḍīyaçām uta |  
vrātaṁ  
vuddhirbalānām aham pradhvām rakṣā iva cātaye |

Removing the colon after pāda a and reading tuṇḍīyasām  
we have a good hemistich. In c vṛddhabalānām would seem  
good: in d pratyāṇ rakṣa iva seems to me the most plausible  
suggestion.

pravaktā pramā-  
dātā nibhrā tandrīs tṛtīyaka | tām jaṅgitrasyāgninā sarvaṁ  
apa  
yajāmasi |

The margin has mahi correcting yajāmasi.

In pāda a we might read prasādhaye tām, for b nidrā  
tandrīs tṛtīyakaḥ: in cd read tām jaṅgīdasyāgninā sarvāḥ apa  
yajāmahi.

açundhān naṣ pari pāhi rakṣobhya uta jaṅginah  
yā-  
tudhānāt kimīdinaḥ tasmān naṣ pāhi jaṅgiduḥ

Read açundhān in a, jaṅgiḍa in b, kimīdinas in c, and jaṅgiḍa in d. The ms. corrects jaṅgiduḥ to jaṅgiḍaḥ.

vatsarābhyo gandha-  
rvebhyo devebhyo asurebhyāḥ yātudhānāt kimīdinaḥ tasmān  
naṣ pā-  
tum jaṅgiduḥ

Read apsarābhyo in a, kimīdinas in c, and pātaṁ jaṅgiḍaḥ in d.

ni te çatrūn dati devo agnis trir arātum asitaṁ  
yātudhānān ā yāhi çatrūn duritāpaghnāyānsa tām no ya-  
kṣmebhyaḥ  
pari pāhi jaṅgiḍaḥ ni te çatṛn dahati devo gnin nir arātum  
asitaṁ  
yātudhānān ā yāhi çatṛ duritāpaghnāyānsa tām no ya-  
kṣmebhyaḥ |  
pari pāhi jaṅgiḍaḥ

Read: nis te çatrūn dahati devo agnir nir arātim asitaṁ  
yātudhānam | ā yāhi çatrūn duritān apāghāyāns tām no ya-  
kṣmebhyaḥ pari pāhi jaṅgiḍa z 5 z

The extensive dittography is clear. The emendation in pāda c is not beyond criticism.

akarmāgnim adhipām asya devam anv āra-  
psva sahasā dāivyena | sahasvān nas sahasā pātu jaṅgiḍo  
yato ja-  
yema pṛtanājyeṣu

Read jaṅgiḍo in c.

satyo gnis satyāpaḥ satye me dyāvāpṛthivī  
viçvaçambhū satyam idam vrahmāsmākam kṛtam astu | yam  
abadhnād uçane-  
ndrāya tam te badhnāmi jaṅgiḍam z 3 z

Read: satyo 'gnis satyā āpaḥ satye ime dyāvāpṛthivī | viçva-

çambhu satyam idam vrahmāsmākaṁ kṛtam astu | yam abadh-  
nād uçanendrāya tam te badhnāmi jaṅgiḍam z 7 z 3 z

19. [f. 67 b, l. 18.]

Cf. RV. 1. 191. 10—12, 14.

iyantikā çakuntikā  
[f. 68a] sakhā jaghāsa te viṣam | maham mṛṣy asāu asāu  
puruṣo mṛtaḥ sa ja  
na marāti mā vyaṁ marāmāre bhyojanaṁ hṛiṣṭhā madhu  
tvā madhulāka-  
rat. sūryaṁ viṣa saṁsrjāmi dvitīyaṁ surāvato grhe | tri-  
suptā viṣpū-  
liṅgakā viṣasya puṣpakas akṣan ā | ālvantarotaṁ viṣam vi-  
tārī ka-  
rambho rasaṁ viṣam vār ugram arasaṁ viṣam agniç ca  
viçvacarṣaṇiḥ çakunti-  
kā me vṛavīd viṣapuṣpaṁ dhayantikāḥ na ropayati na mā-  
dayati na  
viṣam hanti pāuruṣaṁ | mahamṛṣamāu asāu puruṣo mṛtaḥ  
sa ja na  
na marāti mā vyaṁ madāmāre syojanaṁ hariṣṭhā maru  
tvā madhulāka-  
rat. navānām navatīnām ity etā z 4 z

Read: iyattikā çakuntikā sakā jaghāsa te viṣam | †maham  
mṛṣy† asāv asāu puruṣo 'mṛtaḥ | sa cin nu na marāti mā va-  
yaṁ marāmāre 'sya yojanaṁ hariṣṭhā madhu tvā madhulāka-  
rat z 1 z sūrye viṣam saṁsrjāmi dṛtiṁ surāvato grhe | †ma-  
ham . . | sa . . . z 2 z tris sapta viṣpuliṅgakā viṣasya puṣpa-  
kam akṣan | †maham . . | tāç cin nu na maranti mā . . . z 3 z  
†ālvantarotaṁ viṣam vitārī karambho 'rasaṁ viṣam | †maham  
. . | sa . . . z 4 z vār ugram arasaṁ viṣam agniç ca viçvacarṣa-  
ṇiḥ | †maham . . | sa . . . z 5 z çakuntikā me 'vṛavīd viṣa-  
puṣpaṁ dhayantikā | na ropayati na sādayati na viṣam hanti  
pāuruṣam | †mahamṛṣ† asāv asāu puruṣo 'mṛtaḥ | sa cin nu na

marāti mā vyaṁ marāmāre 'sya yojanaṁ hariṣṭhā madhu tvā  
madhulākarat z 6 z navānām mavatnām ity ekā z 7 z 4 z

The hymn is given thus en bloc to display the more clearly what seems to me the intention of the ms. in respect to the refrain. Good work in textual criticism has been marred by theories of responsion: but the repetition in RV. 1. 191. 10—13 and the habit of this ms. as seen in hymn 8 of this book, or Bk. 3. 9 and 15, gives strong reason for the arrangement. But st. 6 as given is not symmetrical with the others; its pādas abc plus arasaṁ sārvaṁ viṣam appear as a complete stanza on f. 115b. In view of this it might seem good to write the refrain only in stt. 1—5.

For our 8a RV. has sūrye viṣam ā sajāmi; which may be intended here. In 4a there seems to be a possibility that some form of ālu is present, and then perhaps cārkoṭaṁ viṣam. Our 5a has appeared Ppp. 3. 9. For st. 7 cf. no. 17 of this book.

20. [f. 68a, l. 9.]

madhumatī patye ssi

yajñārāya madhumattaraḥ atho madhumavyase bhaṁso ma-  
dhon nipatane haṁ

In pādas a b it would seem possible to read • • syām jārāya madhumattarā; the verb probably should be in the first person and to read 'smi would leave "yaj" unaccounted for. In c I can only suggest madhumad yaço me. Pāda d seems clearly to begin bhaṁso madhor, after which nipatanam if that may mean "abiding-place"; I do not believe aham is here, but it might belong to st. 2a.

madhu-

nā mā saṁsrjāmi māsureṇa surām iva | vāñ mahyaṁ ma-  
dhunā saṁsrjā-

kṣāu mī madhusaṁdrjī

In d read •kṣyāu me; cf. Q. 7. 36. 1a.

madhu dyāur madhu pṛthivī madhv  
indro madhu sūryaḥ |  
striyo yā jajñire madhu tābhyo haṁ madhumattaraḥ

In d read 'haṁ madhumattarā.

madhumatīr oṣadhaya ā-  
po madhumatīr uta | gāvo yā jajñire dhu tābhyo haṁ ma-  
dhumattaraḥ

In a read oṣadhaya, in c madhu, in d 'haṁ madhumattarā.

madhu-  
r jāto madhuga vīrudhāṁ balavattamaḥ | tenāhaṁ sarvasmāi  
puse kṛṇve  
nikaraṇaṁ hṛdi |

Read for a madhor jāto madugho; cf. Ç. 5. 4. 1ab: in c  
read pumse.

yathāçvo bandhaneçtho vaḍavām abhi dhā-  
vati | evā  
tvam ugra oṣadhe muṁ kanikradatim ā naya  
In d read 'muṁ kanikradatam.

aṅgo namo divi  
çvaso aṅgo na-  
mo divi stanah anyā vivitsamāno anyāḥ parājighānsan. | |  
[f. 68b] mām anu vra te manaç chāyāyantum ivā nayat.  
z 5 z anuvā 4 zz

Read: aṅgonnamas divi çvaso aṅgonnamas divi stanah | anyā  
vivitsamāno anyāḥ parājighānsan | mām anu pra te manaç  
çayyāyām tam ivā nayat z 7 z 5 z anu 4 z

The reading suggested for the first hemistich is very close  
to the ms., but I am not altogether confident about it; the  
second hemistich seems fairly good. Pāda e = Ç. 3. 18. 6c;  
in pāda f I have also thought of çāyantam or chāyāyantram;  
but in any case this pāda does not seem to follow up pāda e  
very well.



21. [f. 68 b, l. 2.]

khananti tvā tayimātādāmārasi bāhavaḥ dāsasya prakrīd  
usy uta kha  
im arasasaṁ viṣaṁ |

In ab read tāimātādā, and for the rest of b māro 'si bāhvoḥ might be possible. In c I have thought of prakrīr asy uta, for which cf. Ç. 4. 7. 6: for d kha idam arasam viṣam seems probable. A plant-name in the vocative seems to follow tvā; cf. the following verse which occurs f. 115a l. 12 and 13: aṣvatthe nihataṁ viṣaṁ kapagle nihataṁ viṣaṁ çilāyāṁ jajñe tāimātaṣ prathamō viṣadūṣaṇī. This seems to throw some light on our pāda a.

idamti tvā karkaṭaçaḥ kuruṅgā adhi sāniṣu |  
pāpī jagdhi prasūr asy atriṣāte na ra rūrupaḥ |

For ab read adanti tvā karkaṭaka kuraṅgā adhi sānuṣu. In c pāpīr seems probable; for d read abhrikhāte na rūrupaḥ. Pāda d is Ç. 4. 7. 5d, which appears Ppp. 2. 1. 4d and 5d where abhrikhāte should have been read.

ava jḡām iva dhanvi-  
naḥ çuṣmaṁ tanomi te viṣaḥ | parā roraṇsya pātaya sūrya-  
pūrvā ça-  
voṣasuh

For ab read ava jḡām iva dhanvinaḥ çuṣmaṁ tanomi te viṣa; cf. Ç. 6. 42. 1ab. In pāda c we seem to find parā+pat, and for roraṇsya we might consider rohāṇsi; parā rohāṇsi pataya is the suggestion for c. In d sūryapūrvā seems good and inclines one to think of uṣasaḥ at the end; but a marginal correction reads vaçoṣamaḥ. I can get nothing further here.

sinduṣ paçcāt parihitas sūryasyodayanam purah  
tato yad anta-  
rā viṣaṁ tat sarvaṁ vidūṣaṇam |

Read *viṣadūṣaṇam* in d: pāda b — VāDh. 1. 15b and Ppp. 4. 22. 3b. Read *sindhuṣ* in a.

**madhu tvā madhukṛt kṛṇotu pituṁ tvā pitu-  
kṛt kṛṇotu | tato niṣadya pātaye radho vāya tiṣṭhate |**

In c *pataye* (2nd sg. opt.) would seem preferable: in d *rādho* 'vāya.

**jaghāsa tvā lo-  
makanyas tan mām upariṣṇyāparud dāimāiḥ cakrire sṛja  
sarvaṁ nvāiṣajo vi-  
ṣaṁ |**

In pāda I think we may take *jaghāsa* as 1st person and read a vocative after *tvā*; perhaps *lomakanyā* is possible, as a plant name. For b I can only suggest (with little confidence) *tan mām upariṣṇyāpāt*. For cd it seems possible to read *ud dhāimāiḥ cakrire mṛjaṁ sarvaṁ bhiṣajo viṣaṁ*. With such corrections the stanza could be translated, I believe.

**urvyā urakṣatas turāyāturasya ca | bhūmyā hi jagra-  
bhaṁ nāma viṣaṁ  
vārayatam iti viṣaṁ dūṣayatād iti z 1 z**

Read: *urvyā urakṣatas turasyāturasya ca | bhūmyā hi jagrabhaṁ nāma viṣaṁ vārayatām iti viṣaṁ dūṣayatām iti z 7 z 1 z*

22. [f. 68 b, l. 11.]

**ahaṁ vā i-  
ndram ātaram indro mām indrabhrātaram indrādi vakrām  
vīrudham arṣaṁ vi-  
ṣadūṣaṇī |**

For the first hemistich I can offer only what the transliteration gives, and that seems a very doubtful text: *indrād*

u might be considered in c. In d we would probably be safe in reading *aharṣaṁ viśadūṣaṇīm*, or *ariṣaṁ*.

yadi kici padvat sabhavad yāt kāṇḍe yaç ca  
puṣpavat.

ud ejitu prajāpatis sarvaṁ tad viśadūṣaṇam.

Here we might read in a *yat* *kim cit* and *çaphavad*, in b *yat* and *yac*; in c read *ejatu* as in Ç. 4. 4. 2c.

sindhuṣ paçcā-  
d varuṇas sūryasyodayanaṁ punaḥ tato yad antarā viṣaṁ  
tad vācā dū-  
ṣayāmasi |

The sign "v" in *viṣaṁ* in pāda d is imperefect; and a period after *viṣaṁ* is suggested.

In a read *varuṇasya*, in b *purah*. Cf. st. 3 of preceding hymn.

yāvat sūryo dhipati yāvaç cā dyā vapaçyati | tāva-  
d viṣasya dūṣaṇam vaco nir mantrayāmahe |

In a read 'dhipatir, for b *yāvac* ca *dyāur* *vipaçyati*. With our a b cf. Ç. 10. 10. 4d.

jihvā me madhusaṁsrā-  
[f. 69a] vā jihvā me madhuvādinī | jihve varcasvatī bhava  
sāpa te puruṣo ri-  
ṣat. |

In d read *māpa te*. Ç. 19. 39. 2c is na *ghāyaṁ* *puruṣo* *riṣat*.

hā hī kalyāṇi subhage prṣṇiparṇy anāture | imaṁ me  
adya  
pāuruṣaṁ dīrghāyutvāyo anvayaḥ

In b read *prṣṇiparṇy*, in c *pūruṣaṁ*; and for d probably *dīrghāyutvāyānu* *nayaḥ*.

yā dyo varṣantu vr̥ṣṭayo yābhi-  
r jīvāntv aghnyā ta me viṣasya dūṣaṇis savitā kāçayat.  
z 2 z

Read: yā dyor varṣanti vr̥ṣṭayo yābhir jivanty aghnyāḥ |  
tā me viṣasya dūṣaṇis savitā tā ākāçayat z 7 z 2 z

23. [f. 69a, l. 5.]

Ç. 19. 46.

prajāpatiṣ tvā badhnātu prathamā ambhṛtaṁ vīryāya  
kam | taṁ te badhnāmy āyu-  
ṣe varcasojase ca balāya cāṣṭṛtaṣ tvābhi rakṣatu | ūrdhvas  
tiṣṭhaṁ ra-  
kṣaṁn apramādas ambhṛtemanu mā tvā dabhaṁ paṇayo  
yātudhānāṁ indrīva  
va dhasyū davi dhūṣva pṛdanyataḥ sarvāṅç çatṛṇ vi ṣa-  
hasvāṣṭṛtaḥ ghṛtā-  
tullabdhō madhuvāṁ payasvā sahasraṁprāṇaḥ çatayonir  
vayodhā çambhū-  
ç ca mayobhūç corjasvāṅç ca payasvāṅç cāṣṭṛtaḥ asmin ma-  
nām ekaça-  
taṁ vīryāṇi sahasraṁ prāṇā yasminn astrire | vyāghra  
çatṛṇ abhi  
tiṣṭha sarvān yas tvā pṛdenyād adharas so stv aṣṭṛtaḥ çā-  
taṁ cana prahara-  
nto bhijanto na tastre | yasmin indraḥ pary adhatta ca-  
kṣuṣ prāṇam a-  
tho balas ambhṛtaḥ indrasya tvā varmaṇā pari dhāmo pu-  
nas tvā devā |  
paṇayantu sarve tvastṛtaḥ yathā tvam uttaro sāu sapatnas  
sapatnahā sa-  
jātānām aso vaçī tathā tvā savitā karad aṣṭṛtas tvā abhi  
rakṣa-  
tu z 3 z

Read: prajāpatiṣ tvā badhnātu prathamam aṣṭṛtaṁ vīryāya  
kam | taṁ te badhnāmy āyuṣe varcasa ojase ca balāya cāṣṭṛtas  
tvābhi rakṣatu z 1 z ūrdhvas tiṣṭhan rakṣāpramādam aṣṭṛte-

mañ mā tvā dabhan paṇayo yātudhānāḥ | indra iva dasyūn  
ava dhūnuṣva pr̥tanyataḥ sarvāṅḥ ṣaṭrūn vi śahasvāstr̥tas ° ° °  
z 2 z ghṛtād ullabdho madhumān payasvān sahasraprāṇaḥ ṣa-  
tayonir vayodhāḥ | ṣambhūḥ ca mayobhūḥ corjasvāṅḥ ca paya-  
svāṅḥ cāstr̥tas ° ° ° z 3 z asmin mañāv ekaṣatam vīryāṇi sa-  
hasraṁ prāṇā astr̥te | vyāghra ṣaṭrūn abhi tiṣṭha sarvān yas  
tvā pr̥tanyād adharas so 'stv astr̥tas ° ° ° z 4 z ṣatam cana  
praharanto bhidanto na tastro | yasminn indraḥ paryadatta  
cakṣuṣ prāṇam atho balam astr̥tas ° ° ° z 5 z indrasya tvā  
varmaṇā pari dhāpayāmo yo devānām adhirājo babhūva | pu-  
nas tvā devāḥ pra nayantu sarve 'str̥tas ° ° ° z 6 z yathā  
tvam uttaro 'so asapatnas sapatnahā | sajātānām aso vaḥ tathā  
tvā savitā karad astr̥tas tvābhi rakṣatu z 7 z 3 z

The ms. indicates punctuation after 3b, after cakṣuṣ in 5c  
and after 7b. In st. 6 I have supplied from Q. the missing  
pāda b.

24. [f. 69a, l. 17.]

apaḥ caravaḥ coṣmā ca vāḥ paḥṣa ṣokaḥ cābhivi-  
[f. 69b] ṣoka tr̥tiyekaḥ ca pareparaḥ ca te takmaneto na-  
ṣyata |

Read: apa ṣaravaḥ coṣmā ca vaḥ paḥṣa ṣokaḥ cābhiviṣo-  
kaḥ | tr̥tiyakaḥ ca pareparaḥ ca te takmāna ito naṣyata z 1 z

There are a good many uncertainties here. In pāda b cā-  
bhivikaḥ would rectify the meter. In c tr̥tiyakaḥ is given as  
being the normal spelling, but in Ppp. 1. 32 the word is  
spelled tr̥tiyeka; parepara seems surely to be a fever, perhaps  
equivalent to anyedyuh.

veda vāi te takmañ nāmāgniṣ' ṭaṁ  
nāmāsitaṁ tveto vi nayāmasy anu takmañ vr̥trasya romi  
nabhasyo napāt. |

In a and in c read takman, in b ṭaṁ nāmāsitaṁ. In d the  
best suggestion seems to be vr̥trasya ropir.

dyāu-

ç cāsmat pṛthivī ca takmānam nāçayatām itaḥ | pañcapa-  
tsuntri nāma  
te mātā asūyeka psu nṛtyase |

For the first part of c I can get nothing; for the rest we might read nāma te mātāsūyeko 'psu nṛtyase. The transliteration in c is not sure.

tasyāham veda te nāma ça takman nir ato dhru-  
vaḥ odur asya nāmāsi priyātithiç ca tanveto nāçayāmasi  
vrahmaṇā  
vīryāvatām

For b read sa takman nir ato dravaḥ. In c we should probably read huḍur asya nāmāsti, comparing Ppp. 1. 32. 2; Ç. 1. 25 has hrūḍu. For de read tam ito nāçayāmasi vrahmaṇā vīryāvatā; these pādas — Ç. 4. 37. 11ef.

yo si jalapaç ca lapaç cām māguç ca tapāiç ca |  
ṛṭṭiyekaç ca parepa-  
raç ca te takmānāito nacata |

In a we seem to have jalpa and lapa; and asti would perhaps fit better with pāda b, in which there may be two verbs; I can only suggest yo 'sti jalpaç ca lapaç cā māguç ca tepuç ca. But it would seem to give a stronger hemistich if we could read two nouns in b. Read cd as in st. 1.

vikileda virohatu vṛkāmaç kality arju-  
na | girim gaçcha dhūmaketo ṛṣeṇa mām sa saṁdate | vṛhat  
tvam agne rakṣo  
adhi saṁjahi madhyamanṁ uttasam çṛṇīhi |

In pāda a vikledo is possible, and probably virohatu can stand; for b the only suggestion I can make is vṛkān skhalayaty arjunaḥ, but this is not convincing. For cd a possible reading is girim gaçcha dhūmaketav ṛṣeṇa mām sa saṁdhatte; but pāda d is not very good. In f read madhyamam uttaman.

çam no agnir jyotiraneke  
 astu sam dyāvāpṛthivī yanehasā | māteva piteva rakṣata  
 enam muñca-  
 tānam pary añhasaḥ z 4 z

Read: çam no agnir jyotiraniko astu çam dyāvāpṛthivī ane-  
 hasā | māteva piteva rakṣatānam muñcatānam pary añhasaḥ  
 z 7 z 4 z

Pāda a — Ç. 19. 10. 4a; for b cf. RV. 6. 75. 10b.

25. [f. 69b, l. 11.]

Ç. 4. 10.

vātāj jāto antarikṣād vidyuto jyo-  
 tiṣaḥ pari | sa no hiraṇyadā çāṅkhaḥ kṛcanaḥ pātv añhasaḥ  
 hiraṇyā  
 nām eko si sa hoṣāc abhi jajñiṣe | ratheṣu darçatam iṣa-  
 dhāu ro-  
 canas tvam | yo grato rocanāvām samudrad adhi jajñiṣe |  
 çāṅkhena tvā  
 rakṣāṅsy atriṇo vi ṣahāmahe | ye triṇo yātudhānām rakṣa-  
 so ye  
 kimīdinaḥ | sarvāṅç chakha tvayā vayan viṣūco vi vudhā-  
 mahe | z  
 çāṅkhenāmivām avadyam çāṅkhenotas sadānvā çāṅkho no  
 viçvabheṣaja-  
 [f. 70a] ṣ kṛcanaḥ pātv añhasaḥ divi jātas samudrataḥ  
 sindhutas paryābhṛtaḥ sa no  
 hiraṇyadāç çāṅkha āyusprataraṇo matiḥ devānām asta  
 kṛcanam babhū-  
 va tad ātmanā caraty apsv antaḥ | tam te badhnāmy āyuse  
 varcase balāya ca kā-  
 rṣiṇas tvābhi rakṣatu z 5 z anuvā 5 || z

Read: vātāj jāto antarikṣād vidyuto jyotiṣas pari | sa no  
 hiraṇyadāç çāṅkhaḥ kṛcanaḥ pātv añhasaḥ z 1 z hiraṇyānām

eko 'si sa homād adhi jajñiṣe | ratheṣu darçatas tvam iṣudhāu  
 rocanas tvam z 2 z yo 'grato rocanānām samudrād abhi ja-  
 jñiṣe | çaṅkhena hatvā rakṣāṁsy atrīṇo vi śahāmahe z 3 z ye  
 'trīṇo yātudhānā rakṣaso ye kimīdinaḥ | sarvāṅç çaṅkha tvayā  
 vayan viṣūco vi vidhyāmahe z 4 z çaṅkhenāmivām avadyām  
 çaṅkhenota sadānvāḥ | çaṅkho no viçvabheṣajaṣ kṛçanaṣ pātv  
 aṇhasaḥ z 5 z divi jātas samudrataḥ sindhutas paryābhṛtaḥ |  
 sa no hiranyadāç çaṅkha āyusprataraṇo maṇiḥ z 6 z devānām  
 asthi kṛçanaṁ babhūva tad ātmanvac caraty apsv antaḥ | tam  
 te badhnāmy āyuṣe varcase balāya ca kārçanas tvābhi rakṣatu  
 z 7 z 5 z anuvā 5 z

The ms. indicates a punctuation after 5b; and it seems to suggest a separation of tvābhi in 7e. Our st. 4 has no parallel. In 6d I have given maṇiḥ with Ç., but the reading of the ms. gives reason for thinking of 'sati.

26. [f. 70a, l. 4.]

RV. 8. 91.

kanyā vār avāyati

somam açrutāvadat. | hastam bharaṅty avravīd indrāya  
 çanimami tvā çakrā-

ya çanimami tvā | asūyeṣu vīrako grham-grham vicakaçat.  
 imam jambhasutam piva dhānāvantaṁ karambhiṇam apū-  
 pavantam ukthinaṁ

kuç çakat kuvit karat kuvin no vasyasas karat. kuvit sati-  
 yaço yatī-

r indreṇa saṅgamāmahī | ā cani tvā cikitsāmo dhi cana tvā  
 nemasi | çanāir iva çanakāir ivendrāyendo pari srava | imāni  
 trī-

ṇi viṣṭapā tānīndra vi rohaya | çiras tatasyorvarām ād idam  
 mā

upodare | asāu ca yā na urvātirā imām tatvas pari | atho  
 ta-

dastu yaç chiras sarvā tā romaçā kṛdhi | kha rathasya khe  
 nasas khe yo |



gasya çakrato | apālām indra triṣ pūtvya akr̥ṇot sūryatva-  
cam z 1 z

Read: kanyā vār avāyati somam api srutāvidat | astam bha-  
ranty avraṇid indrāya sunavāni tvā çakrāya sunavāni tvā z 1 z  
asāu ya eṣi vīrako gr̥haṁ-gr̥haṁ vicākaçat | imam jambhasutam  
piba dhānāvantaṁ karambhiṇam apūpavantaṁ ukthinam z 2 z  
kuvic chakat karat kuvit kuvin no vasyasas karat | kuvit pa-  
tidviṣo yatīr indreṇa saṅgamāmahāi z 3 z ā cana tvā ciki-  
tsāmo 'dhi cana tvā nemasi | çanāir iva çanakāir ivendrāyendo  
pari sraṇa z 4 z imāni trīṇi viṣṭapā tānIndra vi rohaya | çiras  
tatasyorvarām ād idam ma upodare z 5 z asāu ca yā na ur-  
varād imām tanvaṁ pari | atho tatasya yac chiras sarvā tā  
romaçā kṛdhi z 6 z khe rathasya khe 'nasaṣ khe yugasya ç-  
takrato | apālām indra triṣ pūtvya akr̥ṇoḥ sūryatvacam z 7 z 1 z

In st. 1 b I have given avidat with RV. and JB.; but it  
would seem possible to retain avadat of the ms., or perhaps  
even to read avandat.

27. [f. 70a, l. 15.]

divas pr̥ṣṭhe sadhupṛcas suparṇaṣ pañçaçate bhuvanasya  
gopāḥ ā-

nujāvaram anuratta ugrā teṣām indraṁ vīyā īrayanta

In a read madhupṛcas suparṇaṣ. In c I am not sure that  
ānujāvaram can stand and anuratta I cannot solve; it would  
seem fitting if pāda c began with yā (or ya). For d read  
teṣām indraṁ vīryāirayanta; the ms. makes the correction to  
vīryā.

purohitaḥ pa-  
rameṣṭhī sadājjyābhivardham asmā kṛṇod vṛhaspatīḥ tena  
sapattrā-

[f. 70b] n adharān kṛṇuṣva kṣeme paçūn bahulān vardha-  
yevtvā |

In a b we may probably read sadājayo abhivardham asmāi;  
or perhaps sadājayād. In c read sapatnān, in d vardhayitvā.

jāitrāyodyātu rathavā-  
hanam te | gobhācam ūṣanta ye samānas sarve samagrā  
dadhr̥ṣā bharanta |

The ms. gives only this for st. 3 and it looks as if pāda b is the missing one. For c the only suggestion I can make is gāvo bhāgam ucchanto ye samānās; in d read dadhr̥ṣā.

a-  
bhi vardhasva bhrātṛvyān abhi ye tvā pr̥danyataḥ ni ṣiṇḍhi  
sarvān dhūrvato bhī  
bhīvardhato yathāsasi |

In b read pr̥tanyataḥ; in c ni ṣiṇḍhi, and for d probably abhīvardho yathāsasi. Ç. 1. 29. 3d is abhīvarto yathāsasi.

abhīvardham abhibhavam abhiṣeṇam  
mahāgaṇam  
viṣas tvā sarvā vāñchatv āpo divyāṣ payasvatīḥ

In a we may probably read abhīvardham, in b abhiṣeṇam, in c read vāñcchantv. With our a cf. Ç. 1. 29. 4a; cd = Ç. 4. 8. 4cd.

abhī vardhasva prajayā  
vāvṛdhāno abhy anīkaiṣ paṇubhir bhavāmi | vrahmarāja-  
nyāir viṇvāir vāvṛ-  
dhānaḥ cūdrāir atīha sabhayā pr̥danyataḥ

In a read abhi, in b bhavāsi; in c vāvṛdhānaç, and in d a possible reading is abhiha sahyāḥ pr̥tanyataḥ. It does not seem probable to me that a form of sabhā should stand in pāda d. The margin seems to suggest cūdrer.

vardhasva kṣettrāiṣ pradatasva pra-  
jaya vardhasva vīraiṣ paṇubhir bahur bhavaḥ çriyā sa ulkāir  
yamas tvā pr̥-  
danyād āpr̥tas tubhyaṁ çapala ṛtyāya tiṣṭhatu | om̐ dāpr̥tas  
tubhyaṁ ça-  
pala ṛtyāya tiṣṭhatu z 2 z

Read: vardhasva kṣetrāiṣ pra prathasva prajāyā vardhasva  
vīrāiṣ paçubhir bahur bhavaḥ | çriyā çulakāir tyamas tvā prta-  
nyād t̥āprtas tubhyaṁ t̥çapala rtyāya tiṣṭhatu z 7 z 2 z

For the first hemistich the suggested form seems good. In  
c yas tvā prtanyād would end the pāda well; but to end c  
thus would not divide the syllables of the second hemistich  
evenly. For āprtas I should incline to read ābhrtas, and  
rtyāi for rtyāya; also sapāla might be possible. The import  
of the hymn is clear in the main, but the details are by no  
means certain. In the lower margin of f. 70a, below st. 2, is  
written vṛhaspatasūktah.

28. [f. 70b, l. 10.]

RV. 1. 106.

indram mittram varuṇam agnim ūtaye  
mārutam çardho aditiṁ havāmahe | ratham na durgād va-  
savas sudhānuvo  
viçvasmān no anhaso niṣ pipartana | ta ādityā ā gata sa-  
rvatāta-  
ye bhūta devā vṛttratūryeṣu sambhuvah ratham na durgād  
vasavas sudhānavo vi-  
çvasmān no anhaso niṣpipartana | avantu naṣ pitaras supra-  
vācana uta de-  
vī devaput্রে t̥tavṛdhā | ratham na durgād vasavas sudhā-  
navo viçvasmā-  
no anhaso niṣ pipartana | narāçansaṁ vājināṁ vājayantam  
kṣayadvīraṁ  
pūṣaṇam sumnāir amahe | ratham na durgā z vṛhaspate  
sadam in na suvām kṛ-  
dhi çam yor yat te manuritam turīmahe | rathan na durgā  
z indram kutsam vṛtra-  
haṇam çacīpatim kaṭe nivāḍha ṛṣir ahvad utaye | ratham  
na durgād va-  
[f. 71a] savas sudhānavo viçvasmān no anhaso niṣ pipar-  
tana z devāin no devy adi-

tin ni pātu devās trātā trāyatām aprayuçchan. tan no mittro  
varuṇo mā-  
mahantām aditis sindhuṣ pṛthivī uta dyāuḥ z 3 z

Read: indram mitram varuṇam agnim ūtaye mārutaṁ çar-  
dho aditiṁ havāmahe | ratham na durgād vasavas sudānavo  
viçvasmān no anhaso niṣpipartana z 1 z ta ādityā ā gatā  
sarvatātaye bhūta devā vṛtratūryeṣu çambhuvaḥ | ratham na  
" " " z 2 z avantu naṣ pitaras supravācanā uta devī devaputre  
ṛtāvṛdhā | ratham na " " " z 3 z narāçanśam vājinam vāja-  
yantam kṣayadviraṁ pūṣaṇam sumnāir imahe | ratham na " " "  
z 4 z vṛhaspate sadam in naḥ sugam kṛdhi çam |yor yat te  
manurhitam tad imahe | ratham na " " " z 5 z indram kutso  
vṛtrahaṇam çacipatiṁ kṛte nibālha ṛṣir ahvad ūtaye | ratham  
na durgād vasavas sudānavo viçvasmān no anhaso niṣpipar-  
tana z 6 z devāir no devy aditir ni pātu devas trātā trāya-  
tām aprayuçchan | tan no mitro varuṇo māmahantām aditis  
sindhuṣ pṛthivī uta dyāuḥ z 7 z 3 z

In the top margin of f. 71a stands indram mitram diviṣū  
and also apannāṣṭakaṁta.

29. [f. 71a, l. 3.]

Ç. 4. 33.

om̐ kutsa ṛ-  
ṣiḥ gāyatriyām̐ç chandaḥ agnir devatā apan nā aṣṭau çucaye  
viniyogaḥ  
z z om̐ apa naç çoçucad agagne çucakad ā rayim̐ | apa naç  
çocuca-  
d agham̐ | sukṣettriyām̐ sughātuyā vasūyā ca yajāmahe |  
apan naç ço-  
çucad agham̐ | z pra yad bandhiṣṭa etām̐ prāsmākasaç ca  
sūrayaḥ apa na-  
ç çoçucad agham̐ | pra yat te agne sūrayo jāyemahe pra-  
ti vayam. apan naç ço-  
çucad agham̐ | pra yad agne sahasvato viçvato yanti bhā-  
navah̐ apan naç çoçu-

cad agham | tvaṁ hi viçvatomukha viçvataṣ paribhūr asi  
 apan naç çoçuca-  
 d agham | dviṣo no viçvatomukhāti nāveva pārāya | apan  
 naç çoçu-  
 cad agham | sa nas sindhum iva nāvayāte parṣas svastaye |  
 apan naç çoçuca-  
 d agham z 4 z

Read: apa naç çoçucad agham agne çuçuḡdhy ā rayim | apa  
 naç çoçucad agham z 1 z sukṣettriyaṁ sugātuyā vasūyā ca ya-  
 jāmahe | apa naç " " " z 2 z pra yad bhandiṣṭa eṣāṁ prāsmā-  
 kāsaç ca sūrayaḥ | apa naç " " " z 3 z pra yat te agne sūrayo  
 jāyemahi pra te vayam | apa naç " " " z 4 z pra yad agneḥ  
 sahasvato viçvato yanti bhānavaḥ | apa naç " " " z 5 z tvaṁ  
 hi viçvatomukha viçvataṣ paribhūr asi | apa naç " " " z 6 z  
 dviṣo no viçvatomukhāti nāveva pārāya | apa naç " " " z 7 z  
 sa nas sindhum iva nāvayāti parṣā svastaye | apa naç çoçucad  
 agham z 8 z 4 z

The ms. corrects to apa naḥ in st. 8. We might retain  
 parṣas in 8b.

The anukramaṇi material prefixed may be read thus: kutsa  
 rṣiḥ | gāyatraṁ chandaḥ | agnir devatā | apa no aṣṭāu çucaye  
 viniyogaḥ. In Kātyāyana's Sarvānukramaṇi (ed. Macdonell,  
 p. 9) the entry referring to RV. 1. 97 is apa no 'ṣṭāu çucaye  
 gāyatraṁ.

30. [f. 71a, l. 13.]

om̐ devaç çaraṇakṛtaç çaraṇā me bhavata  
 prācyāṁ  
 diço gñinā rājñādhyakṣeṇa yaçā bhūyāsam yasasam mā  
 kṛṇuta  
 cārum antrādām parā dviṣantaṁ sṛṇītaḥ | bhavata dakṣi-  
 ṇayā di-  
 ço indreṇa rājñā bhavata pratīcyā diço varuṇena rājñā  
 bhavata udī-  
 cyāṁ diças somena rājñā bhavata dhruvāyā diço viṣṇunā  
 rājñā bhava-

ta ūrdhvāyā diṣo vṛhaspatinā rājñā | bhavata uttamāyā di-  
 ṣaṣ prajāpatinā rājñā | bhavata paramāyā diṣaṣ parameṣṭhi-  
 nā rā-

[f. 71 b] jñādhyakṣeṇa devāḥ ṣarākṛtaṣ ṣaraṇā me bhavata  
 sarvābhyo gbhya iṣānena rājñā-  
 dhyakṣeṇa yaṣā bhūyāsam yaṣasam mā kṛṇuta dviṣantam  
 ṣṛcṇītaḥ z

z 5 z anu 6 z

Read: devāṣ ṣaraṇakṛtaṣ ṣaraṇā me bhavata | prācyā diṣo  
 'gninā rājñādhyakṣeṇa yaṣā bhūyāsam | yaṣasam mā kṛṇuta  
 cārum antrādam parā dviṣantam ṣṛṇīta z 1 z devāṣ ° ° bha-  
 vata | dakṣiṇāyā diṣa indreṇa rājñā ° ° ° z 2 z devāṣ ° ° bha-  
 vata | prācīyā diṣo varuṇeṇa rājñā ° ° ° z 3 z devāṣ ° ° bha-  
 vata | udīcyā diṣa somena rājñā ° ° ° z 4 z devāṣ ° ° bha-  
 vata | dhruvāyā diṣo viṣṇunā rājñā ° ° ° z 5 z devāṣ ° ° bha-  
 vata | ūrdhvāyā diṣo vṛhaspatinā rājñā ° ° ° z 6 z devāṣ ° °  
 bhavata | uttamāyā diṣaṣ prajāpatinā rājñā ° ° ° z 7 z de-  
 vāṣ ° ° bhavata | paramāyā diṣaṣ parameṣṭhinā rājñā ° ° °  
 z 8 z devāṣ ṣaraṇakṛtaṣ ṣaraṇā me bhavata | sarvābhyo digbhya  
 iṣānena rājñādhyakṣeṇa yaṣā bhūyāsam | yaṣasam mā kṛṇuta  
 dviṣantam ṣṛṇīta z 9 z 5 z anu 6 z

In the right margin of 71a stands ṣaḍṛtam sūktam, seem-  
 ingly indicating this number; cf. Ppp. 2. 69. The word antrā-  
 dam does not fit this context very well: perhaps the clause  
 would be better written yaṣasam mā kṛṇuta parā dviṣantam  
 ṣṛṇīta.

31. [f. 71 b, l. 3.]

Ç. 3. 16.

prātar agniṁ prātar indram havāmahe prā-  
 tar mittrāvaru-  
 ṇā prātar açvinā prātar bhagam pūṣaṇam vrahmaṇaspatiṁ  
 prātas somam uta ru-  
 dram huvema | prātarijitaṁ bhagam ugram huvema vyaṁ  
 putram aditer yo vidhartā |

agniç cid yām manyamānas turaç ci rājā cid  
 yañ bha-  
 gañ bhakṣīty āha | bhaga prapeter bhaga satyarādho bha-  
 gemām dhiyam utavā u-  
 dam naḥ bhaga prāṇo janaya gobhir aṇvāir bhaga pra nṛbhir  
 vṛvantas syāma z  
 utedānīm bhagavantas syāmota prapitva uta madhye ahnā  
 utodite maghat sū-  
 rye vayan devānām sumatāu syāma | bhaga eva bhagavām  
 astu devās tena vayan  
 bhagavantas syāma | tañ tvā bhagas sarve ij jōhavīmi ma  
 no bhagaṣ puraetā  
 bhaveha z sam adhvarāyoṣaso nasatto dadhikrāveva ṇu-  
 caye padāya arvā-  
 cīnam vasuvidam bhagam no ratham ivāṇva vājina avantu |  
 aṇvāvatīr go-  
 matīn na uṣāso vīravatis sadam icchantu bhadraḥ | ghṛtañ  
 duhānā vi-  
 ṇvataṣ pravīṇā yūyam pāta svastibhis sadā naḥ z 1 z

Read: prātar agniñ prātar indram havāmahe prātar mitrā-  
 varupā prātar aṇvinā | prātar bhagam pūṣaṇam vrahmaṇas pa-  
 tiñ prātas somam uta rudrañ huvema z 1 z prātarjitāñ bha-  
 gam ugrañ huvema vayan putram aditer yo vidhartā | ādhiç  
 cid yañ manyamānas turaç cid rājā cid yañ bhagam bhakṣīty  
 āha z 2 z bhaga pranetar bhaga satyarādho bhagemām dhi-  
 yam ud avā dadan naḥ | bhaga pra ṇo janaya gobhir aṇvāir  
 bhaga pra nṛbhir nrvantas syāma z 3 z utedānīm bhagavantas  
 syāmota prapitva uta madhye ahnām | utoditāu maghavant  
 sūrye vayan devānām sumatāu syāma z 4 z bhaga eva bha-  
 gavāñ astu devas tena vayan bhagavantas syāma | tañ tvā  
 bhaga sarva ij jōhavīmi sa no bhagaṣ puraetā bhaveha z 5 z  
 sam adhvarāyoṣaso namantu dadhikrāveva ṇucaye padāya | arvā-  
 cīnam vasuvidam bhagam no ratham ivāṇvā vājina ā vahantu  
 z 6 z aṇvāvatīr gomatiṇ na uṣaso vīravatis sadam ucchantu  
 bhadraḥ | ghṛtañ duhādā viṇvataṣ pravīṇā yūyam pāta svasti-  
 bhis sadā naḥ z 7 z 1 z

For pravīṇā as given in st. 7 here TB and ApMB have  
 prapīṇā which may be intended by our ms.: but the reading  
 of the ms. can stand.

32. [f. 71 b, l. 15.]

Ç. 4. 32.

yas te sadyo

vidhad vajra sāyaka saha ojaḥ puṣyad viçvaṁ manuṣaṁ  
 sāhyāma dāsa-  
 m āryaṁ tvayā yujā vayaṁ sahasakṛtena sahasā mahīyasā |  
 manyur indro  
 manyur evāsa devo manyur hotā varuṇo jātavedāḥ manyur  
 viça īdāte mā-  
 [f. 72a] nuṣīr yaś pāhi no manyo tapasā sajoṣāḥ | abhihi  
 manyo tapasas tavīryaṁ ta-  
 pasā yujā vijīha sattṛṇ. | amittrāhā vṛttrahā dasyuhā ca-  
 viçvā va-  
 sūny ā bharā tvaṁ naḥ tvāṁ hi manyo abhibhūtyojās sva-  
 yambhūr bhāso abhimāte-  
 śāhaḥ viçvacarṣaṇis sahuris sahiyān asmāsv ojaḥ pṛtanāsu  
 dhehi |  
 abhāgas sann apa pareto asmi tava kṛtvā tavaviṣasya pra-  
 cetāḥ taṁ tvā manyo a-  
 kratur jihīdāhaṁ svā tanur bhalāvā na chi | ayaṁ te assy  
 upa mehy arvā-  
 ñ praticīnas suhure viçvadhāvaṁ | manu vajrin upa nā va-  
 vṛtsu hanāva dasyū-  
 n uta podhyāpe | abhi prehi dakṣiṇato bhavā no dhā va-  
 vṛttrāṇi jaṁghanā  
 ca bhūri | juhomi te dharuṇe madhvo agram ubhā upāṇçu  
 prathamā piveva z

z 2 z

Read: yas te sadyo 'vidhad vajra sāyaka saha ojaḥ puṣyad  
 viçvaṁ anuṣak | sāhyāma dāsam āryaṁ tvayā yujā vayaṁ sa-  
 hasakṛtena sahasā mahīyasā z 1 z manyur indro manyur evāsa  
 devo manyur hotā varuṇo jātavedāḥ | manyuṁ viça īdāte mā-  
 nuṣīr yāś pāhi no manyo tapasā sajoṣāḥ z 2 z abhihi manyo  
 tapasas tavīryān tapasā yujā vi jahiha çatrūn | amitrahā vṛtra-  
 hā dasyuhā ca viçvā vasūny ā bharā tvaṁ naḥ z 3 z tvāṁ  
 hi manyo abhibhūtyojas svayambhūr bhāso abhimātiśāhaḥ



viçvacarṣaṇis sahuris sahiyān asmāsv ojaṣ pṛtanāsu dhehi z 4 z  
abhāgas sann apa pareto asmi tava kratvā taviṣasya pracetaḥ |  
taṁ tvā manyo akratur jihidāham svā tanūr baludāvā na ehi  
z 5 z ayaṁ te asmy upa mehy arvāṇ praticīnas sahure viçva-  
dāvan | manyo vajrinn upa na ā vavṛtsva hanāva dasyūn uta  
bodhyāpeḥ z 6 z abhi prehi dakṣiṇato bhavā no 'dhā vṛtrāṇi  
jaṅghanaḥ ca bhūri | juhomi te dharuṇe madhvo agram ubhā  
upāṇṇu prathamā pibeva z 7 z 2 z

In the top margin of 72a is yām correcting tavīryam.

In st. 1a manyo as in the other texts seems a better reading but sadyo can stand. In 3a tavasas as in Q. and RV. is much better and perhaps should be read here; tapasas might have been written through anticipation of tapasā in 3b. In 7b the ms. reading jaṅghanā ca may be considered as pointing to the jaṅghanāva of the other texts but with jaṅghanaḥ ca I have kept as close to the ms. as possible.

33. [f. 72a, l. 10.]

Q. 4. 23.

agner manve prathamasya pracetasas pāñcajanya  
bahudhā ya-  
m indhate viço-vi priçīçimāṇsam īmahe sa no muñcatv  
anhasaḥ sajātām  
jātavedasam agnir vāiçvānaram vibhum havyavāham ha-  
vāmahe sa no muñca-  
tv anhasaḥ | yathā havyam vahasi jātavedo yathā yajñam  
kalpayasi  
prajānan. | evā devebhyas sumati hy ā vaha sa no muñcatv  
anhasaḥ | yāma-  
n-yāmabhy apayuktam vayiṣtam karman-karmatv ābhagam |  
agnim iḍe rakṣoḥaṇam  
yajñavṛtam ghṛtāhutām sa no muñcatv anhasaḥ yenaṣayo  
balam idyota  
yajā yanāsurāṇām ayajanta māyā | yenāgninā pañin indro  
[f. 72b] jighāya sa no mañcatv anhasaḥ yena devā amṛtam anv  
avindan yenoṣadhī madhuma-

tīr akr̥ṇvan. | yenedaṁ svar ābharaṁ sa no muñcatv aṇha-  
 saḥ z yasyedaṁ pradiçi  
 yad virocate yaj jātaṁ janitavyaṁ ca kevalaṁ stāumy  
 aṇim nāthito jōhavi-  
 mi ma no muñcatv aṇhasaḥ z 3 z

Read: agner manve prathamasya pracetasas pāñcājanyaśya  
 bahudhā yam indhate | viço-viçaḥ praviçivānsam imahe sa no  
 muñcatv aṇhasaḥ z 1 z sujātaṁ jātavedasam agniṁ vāiçvāna-  
 raṁ vibhum | havyavāhaṁ havāmahe sa no " " z 2 z yathā  
 havyaṁ vāhasi jātavedo yathā yajñam kalpayasi prajānan | evā  
 devebhyas sumatiṁ hy ā vaha sa no " " z 3 z yāman-yāmann  
 upayuktaṁ vahiṣṭaṁ karman-karmann ābhagam agniṁ iḍe |  
 rakṣoḥaṇaṁ yajñavṛdhaṁ ghṛtāhutaṁ sa no " " z 4 z yenaṛṣayo  
 balam uddyotayan yujā yēnāsuraṇām ayuchanta māyāḥ | ye-  
 nāgninā paṇin indro jigāya sa no " " z 5 z yena devā  
 amṛtam anv avindan yēnāṣadhīr madhumatir akr̥ṇvan | ye-  
 nedaṁ svar ābharaṁ sa no " " z 6 z yasyedaṁ pradiçi yad  
 virocate yaj jātaṁ janitavyaṁ ca kevalam | stāumy agniṁ nā-  
 thito jōhaviṁ sa no muñcatv aṇhasaḥ z 7 z 3 z

In st. 3c iḥā might be read for hy ā as given above. In  
 5c the ms. reading jigāya does not give as good a meaning  
 as jigāya.

34. [f. 72b, l. 4.]

Ç. 4. 25.

vāyo savitur vidathāni manma-  
 he yāv ātamanyūd viṣato ye ca rakṣataḥ yo viçvasya pari  
 babhūvas tāu no mu-  
 ñcatam aṇhasaḥ

Read vāyo in pāda a, ātmanvad viçato yāu in b: it seems  
 clear that for c we may read yāu viçvasya paribhū babhū-  
 vathus. With these corrections the stanza differs from the  
 Yajur Veda texts only in having viçato for their bibhṛto.

yayos samkṣātā varimāṇi pārthivā yābhyāṇ  
 rajo gu-  
 sthitam antarikṣaṇ yayoh prayāṇ nānu ṣaṣ canānuṣe tāu  
 no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ

Read samkhyātā in a, and probably antarikṣe in b; we may leave gusthitam as yet another spelling of guspitam. In c read kaṣ canānaṣe.

tava vrate ni viṣamṭve janāsas tvāiyate prehirate cittra-  
 bhānau | divaṇ vāyo-  
 s savitā ca bhuvanāni yaṣchatas tāu no muñcatam aṇha-  
 saḥ |

Read viṣante in a, for b tvayy udite prerate citrabhāno. The simplest correction in pāda c is to read vāyus and ya-  
 cchatas; but vāyos of the ms. does suggest the Ḷ form yuvaṇ  
 vāyo, and with this we would read yacchathas here.

pra sūmatim saṇ  
 mumatir vā ūtaye mahatsvāntaṇ matsaraṇ mādayetām |  
 arvāg vāmasya prava-  
 tā ni yaṣchatas tāu no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ

For the first hemistich read pra sumatim savitar vāya ūtaye  
 mahasvantaṇ matsaraṇ mādayetām. | In c read yacchatas.

rayim me poṣaṇ savitota vāyus ta-  
 no jakṣivāṇ savitāmuṣavāu | aveyakṣmatām muhasmāsu  
 dhattaṇ tāu no mu-  
 ñcatam aṇhasaḥ

For pāda b we may read tanvo dakṣam ā suvatām suṣevāu; tanvo is closer to our ms. than tanū (as in Ḷ.) and jakṣivāṇ seems to have no place here. A good reading for pāda c is, I believe, yāv ayakṣmatām maha asmāsu dhattam; otherwise begin the pāda with ayakṣmatām.

apeto vāyos savitā ca duṣkṛtam upe ya-  
 kṣmaṇ sa

samitām sedatim. para sam hy ūrjā sṛjata maṁ balena tāu  
no muñca-  
tam aṇhasaḥ

Read vāyo in a; and for b I would read apa yakṣmaṁ  
çimidām sedhatam parā. In c read ūrjayā sṛjathaḥ sam.

upa creṣṭhā nāçiso devayor dhvamanv asthiram |  
stāuma de-  
vam savitāram ca vāyūm tāu no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ z 4 z

Read: upa creṣṭhā na açiso devayor dhāmann asthiran |  
stāumi devaṁ savitāram ca vāyūm tāu no muñcatam aṇha-  
saḥ z 7 z 4 z

35. [f. 72b, l. 16.]

Ç. 4. 27.

marutām ma-  
manva adhi me vruvantu premarṁ vojo vājasātāvantu | āsūn  
iva suya-  
mām bhūtaye te no muñcatv aṇhasaḥ | utsam akṣitam ya-  
canti ye sadā ya vā  
[f. 73a] siñcantu rasas oṣadhīṣu puro dadhe mārutaḥ pṛṣṇimā-  
taram te no muñcatv aṇha-  
saḥ | payo dhenunām rasam o ṣadhīṇām yavaṣ arvatām ka-  
vayo ya invat.  
saçmā bhavanti marutam dyonās te no muñcantv aṇhasaḥ |  
apas samudrād divi-  
vam ud vahanti divas pṛthivīm abhi yā sṛjanti | yadbhī-  
çānām muru-  
taç caranti te no muñcatv aṇhasaḥ ye kilālāis tarpayantyo  
ghṛtena ya vā va-  
yo medasā samṣṛjanti | ya içānā maruto varṣayanti te no  
muñcantv aṇhasaḥ |  
yadīd idam māruto mārutena yadi devā dāivenayajñag  
āraḥ

yūyam esiddhe vasavas tasya niṣkṛdhe te no muñcantv  
 aṇhasaḥ | tigmam anikam  
 vitataṁ sahasvaṁ mārutaṁ ṇavaḥ pṛtanāsu ugram stāumi  
 māruto nāthite  
 johayīmi te no muñcantv aṇhasaḥ z 5 z anu 7 z

Read: marutām manve adhi me vruvantu premaṁ tvojo  
 vājasātā avantu | ācūn iva suyamān ahva ūtaye te no muñcantv  
 aṇhasaḥ z 1 z utsam akṣitam vyacanti ye sadā ye vāsiṁcanti  
 rasam oṣadhiṣu | puro dadhe marutaḥ pṛnimātṛn te no " " z 2 z  
 payo dhenūnām rasam oṣadhinām javam arvatām kavayo  
 ya invatha | ṇagmā bhavantu marutaḥ syonās te no " " z 3 z  
 apas samudrād divam ud vahanti divas pṛthivīm abhi yāḥ  
 srjanti | ye adbhīr iṇānā marutaḥ caranti te no " " z 4 z ye  
 kilālāis tarpayanti ye ghr̥tena ye vā vayo medasā saṁsrjanti |  
 ya iṇānā maruto varṣayanti te no " " z 5 z yadīd idam maruto  
 mārutena yadi devā dāivynedrg āra | yūyam iṇidhve vasavas  
 tasya niṣkṛtes te no " " z 6 z tigmam anikam vitataṁ sa-  
 hasvan mārutaṁ ṇavaḥ pṛtanāsūgram | stāumi maruto nāthito  
 johayīmi te no muñcantv aṇhasaḥ z 7 z 5 z anu 7 z

The ms. suggests a punctuation after \*siṁcantu in 73a l. 1,  
 and after aṇhasaḥ in 73a l. 5.

In st. 1b we might read with Ḍ. premaṁ vājam, or perhaps  
 predam ojo; the ms. reading might be a sort of confusion of  
 the two. In 3b we might keep close to the ms. and read  
 yavam, but javam is much better. In 7b Ḍ. has ṇardhaḥ,  
 which may have been intended here for v and rdh are similar  
 signs.

36. [f. 73a, l. 10.]

Ḍ. 4. 26.

manve vām dyāvā-  
 pṛthivī subhojasāu ye prathetās amitā yojanāni pratiṣṭhe  
 hy abha-  
 bha vantaṁ vasūnām te no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ | pratiṣṭhe  
 ha babhūvathur vasūnām pra-

viddhe devī subhage utūdi dyāvāpr̥thivī bhavataṁ me syone  
te no muñca-  
tam aṇhasaḥ ye prāutyā bibhr̥to ye manuṣyā ye mṛtaṁ  
bibhrato ye havīṁsi |  
dyāvāpr̥thivī bhavataṁ me syone te no muñcatam aṇha-  
saḥ | yatra çriyā  
bibhr̥to ye vanaspatīn yayor vām viçvā bhuvanāny antaḥ  
dyāvāpr̥thivī  
bhavataṁ me syone te no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ ye kilālāis  
tayaṁto ye ghr̥te  
yābhyām narte kiñ cana çaknuvanti | dyāvāpr̥thivī bhava-  
taṁ me syone te  
[f. 73 b] no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ asaṁtāpaya svatapasā huve  
vām urvī gambhīre kavi-  
bhīn namasye | dyāvāpr̥thivī bhavataṁ me syone te no  
muñcatam aṇhasaḥ ye  
na medam abhiçocati yena vā yena kṛtaṁ pāuruṣeyaṁ na  
dāivyaṁ stāumi  
dyāvāpr̥thivī jōhavīmi te no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ z 1 zz

Read: manve vām dyāvāpr̥thivī subhojasāu ye 'prathetām  
amitā yojanāni | pratiṣṭhe hy abhavataṁ vasūnām te no muñca-  
tam aṇhasaḥ z 1 z pratiṣṭhe ha babhūvathur vasūnām pra-  
viddhe devī subhage urūci | dyāvāpr̥thivī bhavataṁ me syone  
te no " " z 2 z ye srotyā bibhr̥to ye mānuṣyān ye 'mṛtaṁ  
bibhr̥to ye havīṁsi | dyāvā " " z 3 z ye usriyā bibhr̥to ye  
vanaspatīn yayor vām viçvā bhuvanāny antaḥ | dyāvā " "  
z 4 z ye kilālāis tarpayatho ye ghr̥tena yābhyām narte kiñ  
cana çaknuvanti | dyāvā " " z 5 z asaṁtāpe svatapasā huve vām  
urvī gambhīre kavibhir namasye | dyāvā " " z 6 z yena medam  
abhiçocati yena vā yena kṛtaṁ pāuruṣeyaṁ na dāivyaṁ |  
stāumi dyāvāpr̥thivī jōhavīmi te no muñcatam aṇhasaḥ z 7  
z 1 z

In 6a we might accept the ms. reading svatapasā, but the  
ms. probably has merely a faulty writing: we might also con-  
sider svatavasā.

37. [f. 73b, l. 5.]

Ç. 4. 28.

bhavāçarvāu manve vī tasya vittam yayor vām yad idam  
 vitiṣṭhate | yāv āiṣāte  
 dvipado yaç catuṣpadas tāu no muñcatam añhasaḥ yor  
 abhyadhva ubha yad yāure ci-  
 d yāu vitatāv iṣabhṛtām amiṣṭhāu | bhavāçarvā bhavataṁ  
 me syonāu tāu no muñca-  
 tam añhasaḥ yayor vadhān vāpapadyate kiñ canāntan de-  
 veṣu uta mānuṣe-  
 ṣu bhavāçarvāu bhavataṁ me syonāu tāu no muñcatam  
 añhasaḥ yāv ārebhathe ba-  
 hu sākam ugrāu pra cetasyarāṣṭram abhibhāñ janeṣu | bha-  
 vāçarvāu bhavataṁ  
 me syone to no muñcatam añhasaḥ sahasrākṣāu vṛtrahaṇā  
 huve vām dūre-  
 hetī sunemī ugrāu | bhavāçarvāu bhavataṁ me syonāu tāu  
 no muñcatam añha-  
 saḥ z z yaṣ kṛtyākṛd yātudhāno mahalo ni tasmin yaha-  
 tam a-  
 dhi vajam ugrāu | bhavāçarvāu bhavataṁ me syonāu tāu  
 no muñcatam añhasaḥ  
 adhi me vrūtaṁ pṛtanāsa ugrāu sam vajreṇa sṛjataṁ yaṣ  
 kimīdi |  
 stāumi bhavāçarvāu nāthito jahavīmi tāu no muñcatam  
 añhasaḥ z  
 z 2 z

Read: bhavāçarvāu manve vām tasya vittam yayor vām yad  
 idam vitiṣṭhate | yāv iṣāte dvipado yā catuṣpadas tāu no muñca-  
 tam añhasaḥ z 1 z yayor abhyadhva uta yad dūre cid yāu vitatāv  
 iṣubhṛtām asiṣṭhāu | bhavāçarvāu bhavataṁ me syonāu tāu ° °  
 z 2 z yayor vadhān nāpapadyate kiñ canāntar deveṣūta mā-  
 nuṣeṣu | bhavāçarvāu ° ° ° z 3 z yāv ārebhathe bahu sākam  
 ugrāu pra ced asrāṣṭam abhibhām janeṣu | bhavāçarvāu ° ° °  
 z 4 z sahasrākṣāu vṛtrahaṇā huve vām dūrehetī stuvann emy

ugrāu | bhavāçarvāu ~ ~ ~ z 5 z yaş kṛtyākṛd yātudhāno †ma-  
halo ni tasmin †yahatam adhi vajram ugrāu | bhavāçarvāu  
~ ~ ~ z 6 z adhi me vrūtam pṛtanāsūgrāu saṃ vajreṇa sṛjatam  
yaş kimidi | stāumi bhavāçarvāu nāthito jōhavimi tāu no muñ-  
catam añhasaḥ z 7 z 2 z

In st. 5 b it does not seem that our ms. presents a variant in its sunemi. In 6b dhattam as in Ç. is the only plausible suggestion; adhi seems to improve the pāda.

38. [f. 73 b, l. 17.]

Ç. 4. 29.

manve vaṃ mittrāvaruṇāv ṛtāvṛdhāu satyojasāu  
dṛhyā-

nī yo nirete yāu satyāvānam avatho haveṣu tāu no muñ-  
catam añha-

[f. 74 a] saḥ | satyojaso dṛhvaṇī yo nidethe pra satyāvānam  
avatho have-

ṣu | yāu gaçchato ṛçakṣasa āpabhruṇā sutam tāu no muñ-  
catam añhasaḥ |

yav ṛṅgirasom atho thāv agasti mittrāvaruṇā jam atrim |  
yāu kaçya-

pam atho yāu vasiṣṭham tāu no muñcatam añhasaḥ | yāu  
bhāradvājam avatho

vadhyadhvaṃ viçvāmittram varuṇa mitra kutsam yāu kākṣi-  
vantam avataḥ prota ka-

ṇvam tāu no muñcatam añhasaḥ yāu dyāvāsyam avatho  
yāu gaviṣṭhiram mi-

ttrāvaruṇā pumīdham attrim | yo vimadam avathaḥ sapta-  
vaṣṭhim tāu no mu-

ñcatam añhasaḥ yo medhātithim avato yāu triçokam mittrā-  
varuṇā u-

çanam kāvyū || yāu mudgalam avatho gāutamam ca tāu no  
muñcatam añhasaḥ ya-

yo rathas satyavartmarajjuraçmir mithuyā carantim abhi-  
yāti dūṣayan.



stāumi mitrāvaruṇā nāthito jōhavīmi no tau muñcatam añ-  
hasaḥ z

z 3 z

Read: manve vām mitrāvaruṇāv ṛtāvṛdhāu satyāujasāu dru-  
hvaṇo yāu nudethe | yāu satyāvānam avatho haveṣu tāu no  
muñcatam añhasaḥ z 1 z satyāujasāu druhvaṇo yāu nudethe pra  
satyāvānam avatho haveṣu | yāu gacchatho nṛcaksasā babhruṇā  
sutaṁ tāu ~ ~ z 2 z yāv āngirasam avatho yāv agastiṁ mitrā-  
varuṇā jamadagnim atrim | yāu kaçyapam avatho yāu va-  
siṣṭhaṁ tāu ~ ~ z 3 z yāu bharadvājam avatho yāu vadhrya-  
çvaṁ viçvāmitraṁ varuṇa mitra kutsam | yāu kaksivantam ava-  
thaḥ prota kaṇvaṁ tāu ~ ~ z 4 z yāu çyāvāçvam avatho yāu  
gaviṣṭhiraṁ mitrāvaruṇā purumidham atrim | yāu vimadam ava-  
thas saptavadhrim tāu ~ ~ z 5 z yāu medhātithim avatho yāu  
triçokam mitrāvaruṇā uçanām kāvyam yāu | yāu mudgalam  
avathaḥ prota gotamaṁ tāu ~ ~ z 6 z yayo rathas satyavar-  
tmarjuraçmir mithuyā carantam abhiyāti dūṣayan | stāumi  
mitrāvaruṇā nāthito jōhavīmi tāu no muñcatam añhasaḥ  
z 7 z 3 z

The ms. suggests a colon after nirete in f. 73b, l. 17, and  
one after añhasaḥ in f. 74a, l. 9. In the top margin of f. 74a  
se is written above (nide)the.

In 1b and 2a druhvaṇo has seemed the most probable  
reading but the reading of TS., MS., and KS. is rather against  
it; they have satyāujasā drñhaṇā (MS. durhṛṇā) yaṁ nudethe.  
In 2c perhaps babhruṇām would be a better reading.

39. [f. 74a, l. 12.]

Ç. 4. 24.

indrasya manve çaçvad yasya manvire vṛttraghna  
stāumā upa memā

aguḥ yo dāçuṣas sukrto havam ethā sa no muñcatv añha-  
saḥ yaç carṣa-

nīpra carṣaṇi svarvid yasya grāvāṇaṣ pravadanti nṛmṇe  
yasyādhva-

ryus saptahotā mudicyut ma no muñcatv añhasaḥ | yo gra-  
 ṇām ugrabāhu-  
 r yo dānavānām balam āsasāda | yena jītās sindhavo  
 yena  
 gāvas sa no muñcatv añhasaḥ | yasya vaçāsu ṛṣabhāsa  
 ukṣaṇo ya-  
 smin iyante svarvas svarvide | yasmiñ çukraṣ pravartate  
 vrahmaçumbhitas sa  
 no muñcatv añhasaḥ yasya juṣṭiyam sominaḥ kāmayinge  
 yo havanta  
 iṣuvantaṁ gaviṣṭāu yasminn arkaṣ çaçriye sminn ojaṣ sa  
 no muñca-  
 [f. 74 b] tv añhasaḥ | ya uttamaṣ karmakṛtyāya jajñe asye  
 vīryam prathamasyānuvu  
 ddham yonodyato vajro bhyāyatāham sa no muñcatv añha-  
 saḥ yas saṅgrāmān naya-  
 ti sam yudhe vaçī yaḥ puṣṭyānaṣ saṁsrjata dvayāni | stāu-  
 mīndram nā-  
 thito jōhavīmi sa no muñcatv añhasaḥ z 4 z

Read: indrasya manve çaçvad yasya manvire vṛtraghna  
 stomā upa mema āguḥ | yo dāçuṣaṣ sukrto havam eyāt sa no  
 muñcatv añhasaḥ z 1 z yaç çarṣanipraç çarṣaniḥ svarvid yasya  
 grāvāpāṣpravādanti nrmnam | yasyādhvaras saptahotāmadhucyut  
 sa no ~ z 2 z ya ugrāpām ugrabāhur yayur yo dānavānām  
 balam āsasāda | yena jītās sindhavo yena gāvas sa no ~ z 3 z  
 yasya vaçāsa ṛṣabhāsa ukṣaṇo yasmāi miyante svaravas svar-  
 vide | yasmiñ çukraṣ pravartate vrahmaçumbhitas sa no ~  
 z 4 z yasya juṣṭim sominaḥ kāmayinge yam havanta iṣuvantaṁ  
 gaviṣṭāu | yasminn arkaç çaçriye yasminn ojaṣ sa na ~ z 5 z  
 ya uttamaṣ karmakṛtyāya jajñe yasya vīryam prathamasyānu-  
 buddham | yonodyato vajro bhyāyatāhim sa no ~ z 6 z yas  
 saṅgrāmān nayati sam yudhe vaçī yaḥ puṣṭāni saṁsrjati dva-  
 yāni | stāumīndram nāthito jōhavīmi sa no muñcatv añha-  
 saḥ z 7 z 4 z

In st. 2b I have followed Ç. in reading nrmnam, but nrmpe  
 as in the ms. seems possible. In 3a I have inserted yayur,  
 following Ç. In 4c Ç. has yasmāi çukraṣ pavate which is  
 better than our text at least in meter. At the end of f. 74a

l. 19 the ms. would seem at first sight to give havabu but I do not believe that the scribe intended that.

40. [f. 74b, l. 4.]

çunam vātmān a  
 pākaromi çunam badhnāmi taṁbhyān āgreṇa vrahmaṇā  
 havis tasmiṇ jā-  
 gara kaç cana | bāhum vatsam upanayam pātre gām duhann  
 avravīt. ariṣṭam  
 vrahmabhyo haviḥ çivam kṛnotu kaçyapaḥ yatraṣ tiṣṭhanti  
 sukr̥tasya lo-  
 ke trayo tikāçā trīṇi çirṣāṇy eṣām trayas tiṣṭhanti pra-  
 gr̥hya  
 kumbham yathā haviḥ kaçyapum yathāte satyāt sambhūto  
 vadati taṇḍulā-  
 t kṣīrāvapam ṛṣir vrahmatyāgreṇam ni ced etu kaçyapa  
 ṛtumukhe  
 candra bhāgāṣ pātram odanam uddharāt. prāpartu vrahmaṇo  
 havi-  
 r yathā vedena kaçyapa | ye bhūtāny amṛjanti ye bhūtāny  
 akalpa-  
 yan. | sarvasya vidvān adhvaryuḥ ṣaṇṇām bhavati kaçya-  
 pa | çī-  
 vāpo vatsekhyāç çivā bhavantv oṣadhīḥ vāto vatsedyāṣ  
 kaçyapaç çiva  
 çivam tapatu sūryaḥ z z iti atharvaṇapāippa-  
 lādaçākhāyām caturthaṣ kāṇḍas samāptāḥ z z  
 kaṇḍaḥ z 4 z

Read: çunam vatsān upākaromi çunam badhnāmi tanyām |  
 āgrayaṇam vrahmaṇā havis tasmiṇ jāgara kaç cana z 1 z bā-  
 hum vatsam upanayan pātre gām duhann avravīt | ariṣṭam  
 vrahmabhyo haviḥ çivam kṛnotu kaçyapaḥ z 2 z trayas tiṣṭhanti  
 sukr̥tasya loke trayo tikāçās trīṇi çirṣāṇy eṣām | trayas ti-  
 ṣṭhanti pratigr̥hya kumbham yathā haviḥ kaçyapo yatāte  
 z 3 z satyāt sambhūto vadati taṇḍulān kṣīra āvapam | ṛṣir

vrahmabhya āgrayanaṁ ni ced etu kaçyapaḥ z 4 z ṛtumukhe  
candra bhāgāṣ pātram odanam uddharāt | prāpantu vrahmāṇo  
havir yathā vedena kaçyapaḥ z 5 z ye bhūtāny amṛjanta ye  
bhūtāny akalpayan | sarvasya vidvān adhvaryuḥ śaṇṇām bha-  
vati kaçyapaḥ z 6 z çivā āpo vatsebhyaç çivā bhavantv oṣa-  
dhiḥ | vāto vatsebhyaṣ kaçyapaç civaṁ tapatu sūryaḥ z 7 z 5 z  
anu 8 z

ity atharvaṇi pāippalādaçākhāyām caturthas kāṇḍas samā-  
ptaḥ z z kāṇḍaḥ 4 z

In st. 1d I have wondered if kaçyapaḥ might stand at the end. In 3d yatāte is given as being very close to the ms., but yacchāte might be considered as a possibility. In 4d ni codayatu is in some respects much better than ni ced etu; but feeling rather uncertain about the entire hymn I have not ventured to depart so far from the ms. In 5c prāpantu would seem to be an a-aorist from pra+āp, but prapāntu might be considered as a possibility.



**Printed by W. Drugulin, Leipzig (Germany).**







*Entered as second class matter, June 10, 1912,  
at the Post Office of New Haven, Connecticut,  
under act of July 16, 1894.*

Printed by W. Drugulin, Leipzig (Germany).

W9220/138

# JOURNAL

OF THE

## AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

CHARLES C. TORREY, AND HANNS OERTEL

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New Haven, Conn.

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New Haven, Conn.

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VOLUME 35 • PART II    OCTOBER 1915.

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THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.  
1915

*Current numbers of this journal can be had from W. Drugulin,  
Leipzig, Germany, for 6 Marks a piece. Subscriptions for entire  
volumes should be sent to the Librarian, Yale University Library.  
New Haven, Conn. U. S. A.*



*The Life of St. Simeon Stylites: A Translation of the Syriac Text in Bedjan's Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum, Vol. IV.*—By the Rev. FREDERICK LENT, Ph. D., of New Haven, Conn.

This famous saint was born near the close of the fourth century at Şiṣ, near Nicopolis, in Northern Syria. Long before Simeon lived, there had been at the sanctuary of the goddess Attar'athē, in Hierapolis, a tall pillar, on which a man stood seven days twice a year for communion with the gods (Lucian, *De dea Syria* c. 28 sq.). But, as Nöldeke points out (*Sketches from Eastern History*, Trans. London 1892, ch. VII), Simeon probably had never heard of it; the practice had died out long before he was born. Theodoret, an educated Syrian, regarded Simeon as the father of all who adopted life upon pillars. Besides the sketch of Simeon's career given by Theodoret (see Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, v. 82, Theodoretus 3), the historian Evagrius gives a short notice of his life. Another Greek biography, said to be written by Anthony, a disciple of Simeon, Nöldeke refers to a late date, on account of its extravagances.

The Syriac biography with which we are concerned was probably written shortly after Simeon's death, which occurred in 459 A. D. There are three known manuscripts of this Syriac Life. The Vatican MS. was published by S. E. Assemani, *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum* (Rome, 1748), Vol. II, pp. 273—394. The two other MSS. are in the British Museum. Bedjan, in preparing the Life of Simeon for publication in his *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, first copied the text of Assemani. Then he collated it with the MS. B. M. Add. 12174, and so discovered that this text not only gave the facts in a different order, but contained material not found in Assemani's text. As one or two leaves of this MS. are lacking, he made use of another still older, Add. 14484, which gave the same facts in the same order as 12174, but more soberly and concisely. Because of its simple, beautiful style, and because of its order

of events, which appears more logical than that of Assemani's edition, Bedjan regarded the text of this MS. 14484 as the oldest of the three. One important passage (p. 643), containing a very friendly allusion to the Emperor Leo, but altered in Assemani's text by the erasure of the eulogistic words (p. 393), caused Bedjan to conclude that this MS. was written before Monothelitism invaded Syria, that is, before the seventh century A. D. It is the text of this MS., B. M. Add. 14484, which is given in Bedjan's *Acta*, vol. IV, pp. 507—644, and which is here translated. (See Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, Leipzig, 1894; vol. IV, Preface pp. XI—XIV.)

What relation does the version represented in Assemani's text bear to that given by Bedjan?<sup>1</sup> The two texts, when they report the same incident, use practically the same words. The variations in language are, however, too numerous to mention. One text may employ a synonym for the term used in the other, or a whole sentence may occur in one which is not in the other, or a scripture quotation may be peculiar to one text. But in spite of these differences, the wording is substantially the same in the two texts. The differences, however, are sufficiently numerous and striking to show that neither text was copied from the other. Furthermore, the differences between Bedjan's and Assemani's texts exclude the possibility that both could have been derived from one common MS. We have here two quite independent recensions, as is shown by the variation in the order of events narrated. If we number the paragraphs in Bedjan's text, beginning with page 532, consecutively, and then attach the same numbers to the same incidents as given in Assemani's text, the order in the latter is as follows: 31—57, 21—30, 32, 2—11, 58, 59, 61, 62, 64, 66. This shows how differently the same material is grouped in the two texts, and makes it evident that they represent different recensions, neither one derived from the other. This opinion is strengthened by the presence of the material found in Bedjan's text which is not in the other.

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<sup>1</sup> See the article by C. C. Torrey, *The Letters of Simeon the Stylite*, published in this *Journal*, vol. XX (1899), pp. 253—276. Professor Torrey maintained that the Bedjan recension is the original, and pointed out (pp. 275 f.) one passage in which it is certain that the text of Assemani is merely an abridgment. The proof needs to be considerably extended, however, and an attempt to do this is made in the following pages.

This matter peculiar to Bedjan's text is found in seven sections. The first is p. 507 from the beginning to p. 508, l. 5. This opening paragraph is simple and natural, written in the usual manner of introduction to the life of a famous man. It is extremely unlikely that an author presenting for the first time an account of the Saint's career would begin as abruptly as Assemani's text does, without a single reference to the readers for whom it was intended. That the biographer had such readers in mind is shown later (e. g. on p. 548, Bedjan; Assemani, parallel passage) by a direct address to them. The fuller text is probably the more original in this instance.

The second section, Bedjan, p. 512, l. 14—p. 514, l. 17, is an account of a raid made by Isaurian bandits who took captive some people of Şis, Simeon's native village. The Saint was instrumental in delivering the captives, whom he rescued by miraculously paralysing the arm of the robber chief. He also procured water by miracle. There is no reference in the context to make the inclusion of the story necessary. Assemani reads smoothly, omitting it. On the other hand, such a raid was probable, and the account is sober and quite in keeping with the context. There is nothing to render it suspicious, or to mark it as a later addition. No motive is apparent for its introduction, if it did not stand in the original account.

Section three, Bedjan, p. 520, l. 3—p. 521, l. 11 (see Assemani, p. 28, l. 12) tells how, when other monks had finished the nocturns and gone to rest, Simeon would stand weighed down with a stone hung to his neck, keeping vigil. When it was time for the others to arise, he would remove the stone and join in the prescribed service. One night, as he was putting the stone on his neck, he fell asleep. Deeply chagrined at thus yielding to what he regarded as Satanic temptation, he procured a rounded piece of wood, on which he stood thereafter during the nightly vigil, in order that, if he should fall asleep, the wood, rolling, might awaken him. These severe practices aroused the hostility of the monks, who would have him to do only as the rules enjoined. Now, although Assemani does not have this section, his text does have the story of the rounded piece of wood, given in another connection where it is quite irrelevant. After Bedjan, p. 521, 5th line from the bottom, Assemani (p. 280) inserts this paragraph:

"The manner in which the monks afflicted him, and harassed him,

in order that he should conform to their mode of life, is beyond description. For many times they assembled and said to the abbot, 'If he will not conform to the same mode of life as the brethren, let him leave the monastery!' But the abbot did not act on their protest, because he loved Simeon greatly, since he saw his labor and toil, and knew that envy prompted them to say, 'Let him conform to our mode of life.' For by night Simeon made a piece of wood round, and stood on it," etc.

Then follows material, part of which is found earlier in Bedjan. It can hardly be doubted that Bedjan's account is here the more original. The section is orderly and natural, while the other text has introduced in a disjointed manner the one item it preserves. In this instance, again, the longer text is the preferable.

The fourth section is found in Bedjan, p. 525, l. 15—p. 526, l. 5. By comparison with Assemani (p. 185) it will be seen that the latter gives a different account of Simeon's exit from the monastery, and the context does not require for smooth reading the material given in Bedjan, although Assemani's text omits the motive for the prayer it records, viz. 'If it is Thy will that I perform the Lenten fast in this place, direct me.' Bedjan's text gives this, by stating in exact chronology that the time was just before Lent, in the year 458 of the Antiochan Era. The entrance into the monastery at this time marked an important crisis in Simeon's life. That a careful and intimate biographer should preserve the date of this entrance into Telneshē, is therefore just what we should expect. The account contains no exaggeration, but just a simple story of faith and divine guidance, which suggests no motive for its arbitrary insertion by a later hand. Here again, therefore, the longer account\* may be regarded as original and preferable.

The fifth section, Bedjan, p. 538, l. 19—p. 539, l. 3, contains a brief description of the Saint's clothing, together with a general statement that he glorified God. The absence of this paragraph in Assemani's text does not mar the story, but its presence in Bedjan's text gives vividness to the account, and it is reasonable to suppose that his biographer would have mentioned just such a fact as is here recorded. The failure to do so is against the originality of Assemani's text.

The sixth section is the longest one peculiar to Bedjan's text, extending from p. 548, l. 21 to p. 555, l. 2. It contains

a descriptive résumé of Simeon's monastic life from the day he entered upon the practice of standing on a stone in the mandra, and began to immure himself during the Lenten fast. Then follow stories of various miracles of healing. The section is fittingly introduced by a general eulogy on Simeon's healing powers, and a direct address to the reader, with a promise to give an account of some things selected from many, sufficient to illustrate the Saint's miraculous activity. The section is followed by further similarly illustrating material, which would seem out of place if this section were omitted. In Bedjan's text, the reason for the introduction of any incident is always clear. Stories which illustrate a phase of Simeon's life are grouped together. Assemani's text, on the contrary, is disjointed, and shows no such orderly and logical arrangement. The general scheme of the life as given in Bedjan seems to demand that this section should be given here.

The last section, Bedjan, p. 643, l. 15—p. 644, l. 12, is the closing paragraph of the life. All it records was evidently known to the writer of MS. B. M. Add. 12174 (see Bedjan, p. 643, Note), and its absence gives a very abrupt termination to Assemani's text. Evagrius was evidently familiar with this longer ending paragraph, and it seems more natural than Assemani's version. On the expunging of the words applied to Leo, (Bedjan, p. 643, Assemani, p. 393) Assemani has this note (p. 412, Note 47):

"Haec iisdem plane verbis leguntur apud Evagrium lib. 1, cap. 13, pag. 271. Leonis autem Imperatoris nomen ex codice nostro expunctum est, fol. 77, colum. 1, l. 17, a quonam vel quo concilio, nescio. Suspicio, nebulonem quemdam Jacobitam in odium Catholici hujus Imperatoris, qui Chalcedonense Concilium acerrime propugnavit, ejus nomen abrasisse."

There is nothing in Bedjan's closing paragraph to mark it as anything but the original. Thus a comparison of the whole text of Bedjan with that of Assemani leads us to regard the former as in every respect the superior and earlier version. If a later editor added the paragraphs which are peculiar to the longer version, we might expect to find some differences of vocabulary and idiom in the added paragraphs. But Bedjan's text is a unit in point of style, and as we have seen, the verbal agreement with the shorter life in the narration of the same incidents is very marked. Some readings in Bedjan's text are



obviously preferable: e. g., "Timothy, the disciple of Paul",<sup>1</sup> where the other text reads, "disciple of Simeon". Assemani's text betrays its author's distance from the age of Simeon, e. g., "As said his acquaintances and those familiar with him from his youth" (p. 269, l. 16, 17; cf. Bedjan, p. 508, last line), but Bedjan's text never hints at any dependence upon hearsay. It is consistent with the statement, more than once repeated, that the writer or writers learned directly from Simeon the facts of his life not immediately known by observation.

Bedjan is right in thinking that the more logical order found in his text points to the original composition, and not to editorial work. As we have indicated, Bedjan's version is orderly in its groupings of material. Both Assemani's and Bedjan's versions agree, in the main, in the narration of the story of Simeon's early life. But when once he has begun his monastic career, and all that follows is descriptive of his mode of life and illustrative of his activities, as ascetic and miracle worker, as prophet and beholder of visions, Bedjan's material is logically arranged, every incident finding its proper place under an appropriate heading. For example, if the announcement is made, "Now concerning the visions which Simeon saw", all the material introduced is relevant. In Assemani's text, on the contrary, no such order is observed, as may be readily seen by a glance at the numbers which show the different placing of the same incidents in the two recensions. It can scarcely be doubted that the logical arrangement is more original than the haphazard and disjointed method followed in the shorter version.

Of the two recensions, then, Bedjan's text represents the original story, and that of Assemani a later and shorter version.

As we have noticed, the shorter recension has omitted nothing which is vitally important in giving a correct impression of the saint's life. We gain the same view of his career and estimate of his personality in the shorter as in the longer account. Probably the omitted material was purposely left out by an early editor. In one instance, at least, he composed a paragraph, substituting it for the omitted section, in order to give a motive for what followed (p. 280, Assemani, explains that the envy of the monks led to persecution, see above,

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<sup>1</sup> See below, page 511.

p. 105f.). The opening and closing paragraphs of the longer recension add nothing to the story. The man who undertook the copy did not have the same interest in his readers that the original author had. His attention is riveted to Simeon's career, so he passes at once to the narrative. Being further removed from the age of the saint than the author, he can not feel, as the author did, when he lovingly penned the closing sentences, that Simeon's influence and prayers still brood over the whole creation. So the copyist omitted this, to him, unnecessary paragraph. None of the material peculiar to the longer recension adds to our knowledge of Simeon. It could be left out without seriously damaging the narrative.

A later writer who was well acquainted with this abridged life, but having no text before him, wrote as he remembered, and gave us the story as it stands in Assemani's text. Memory could not preserve the logical orderly arrangement of the original story, but could hold nearly every incident and almost keep the writer to a literal reproduction of the history. Some things he could recall without remembering the exact connection, as, for example, the story of Simeon's vigils kept by standing on a piece of rounded wood. This impressed him as a meritorious act, and was mentioned, while he forgot that the saint was led to adopt the practice because he fell asleep one night while tying the stone weight to his neck. So, too, he remembered that Simeon entered the monastery of Telneshe, but he forgot the year and the exact season. The fact was for him more important than the connection.

There is no improbability inherent in the supposition that a man could write thus from memory. Parallels not a few may be found in all literatures, and particularly among Orientals of the first Christian centuries, when memory was more tenacious than in an age of many books. Even in modern times, Arab writers can tell with astonishing verbal exactness, from memory, stories much longer than that of Simeon the Stylite. In Codex Vaticanus Clx. the Life of Simeon is followed by a letter from the Elder, Cosmas, to Simeon. To the letter is appended a colophon (*Acta Martyrum*, Assemani, II. 394 ff. copied in Be-djan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum* IV. 648f.), in which we read

"May God and his Christ remember for good Simeon bar Apollon, and Bar Hatar the son of 'Udan, who assumed the labor of making this book, 'The Glorious Deeds of Mar Simeon

the Blessed'. They made it by the toil of their hands and the sweat of their brows. — — — This book was finished in the month of Nisan, on the 17th of the month, on the fourth day of the week, in the year five hundred and twenty-one, of the Antiochian chronology. — — — And let everyone who reads it pray for those who undertook the work and made this book, that God may give them everlasting forgiveness of sins. Amen and Amen.

Let everyone who reads and makes, pray for him who wrote. — — — Farewell in our Lord; and pray for me."

Assemani thought that Cosmas composed the life of Simeon, and that the date here given (521 of the Antiochan reckoning — 473 A. D.) was that of the transcription of this MS.; he regarded Simeon bar Apollon and Bar Ḥaṣar as those who requested, or aided in, the writing of the life. Wright thought they were the paid copyists of this portion of Codex Vat. Clx. Nöldeke (*Sketches*, etc. p. 225), Bedjan (*Acta Mart.* IV. p. xiii), Torrey (*Letters of Simeon*, p. 274 f.), and Duval (*La Lit. Syriacque*, p. 160) regard these two men as the original authors, and 473 A. D. as the date of the composition of the Life.

It seems to the present writer more probable that the names given in this colophon are those of the men who reproduced the abridged Life from memory, "by the toil of their hands and the sweat of their brows." It is much more difficult to suppose that the colophon contains matter which stood originally at the end of the longer Life, but which has been lost from there. As it stands in the Vatican Codex, it is a whole, and evidently in its original place. It was added to the MS. containing the abridged life and the letter of Cosmas. 473 A. D., therefore, is the date when the text of Codex Vat. Clx. was written from memory by these two men, Simeon bar Apollon, and Bar Ḥaṣar, son of 'Udan. The original Life, composed by one of Simeon's disciples, was accordingly written between the Saint's death, in 459 A. D., and 473 A. D., when the two men made their memory recension of the abridged story. Bedjan's "Life" was probably written shortly after 459 A. D. The MS. B. M. Add. 14484 is written on parchment in the Estrangelo character, and was dated by Wright as of the sixth century.

The text of this Syriac composition is a model of its kind. Nöldeke has cited Assemani's edition more than two hundred

times in his grammar, in illustrating classical Syriac usage (see Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, Trans. Crichton, London, 1904, p. 333). Thus will be seen the importance of the text for the student of Syriac. Of no less interest to the general student, we trust, will prove this "Life of Simeon the Stylite", here translated into English for the first time.

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**(P. 507,<sup>1</sup> below.) The Heroic Deeds of Mar Simeon, the Chief of the Anchorites.**

To our brethren and sons and friends, children of the Holy Catholic Church: we make known to you in our writings (p. 508) the glorious deeds of the Man of God, who was a friend to the Christ. He gave himself to service in the vineyard of our Lord from the dawn even until the evening all the days of his life. He turned the stubborn of heart to conviction, and finished his struggle with praise, and his Lord took him to himself, that he might pay him the good reward of his labor in the land of the consummation of life eternal—the blessed Mar Simeon.

This glorious man, then, came from the region of Nicopolis, and the name of his town was Şiş. Now he had Christian parents who gave him baptism when he was small. He had a brother whose name was Mar Shemshi, and they alone remained to their parents of the many children whom they had had. This blessed one from his boyhood loved to shepherd the flocks of his parents, and he practiced himself in toil, weariness and exhaustion. When he was grown up, he had this peculiarity, that with much diligent care he used to collect storax as he shepherded the flocks, and he would kindle a fire and burn the storax as incense, although he did not know just why he offered it. For hitherto the Scriptures had not been heard by him, and he was not persuaded in the fear of the Lord, while he was growing up from his boyhood among the flocks. He was radiant of countenance, and fair of face, and gentle and benevolent. In stature he was small, but in strength lusty, and in his running (509) he was swift; and he won favor

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<sup>1</sup> The numbers enclosed in parentheses refer to the pages of Bedjan's text.

with everybody. He rejected food for himself while he fed others.

When his parents departed from this world, and he and his brother remained heirs, he entered the church, and heard as the epistle was read. And he asked those who stood with him: "These Scriptures, what are they? and what is in them?" They said to him, "These are the Scriptures of God, who dwells in heaven; and the word of God is in them." Then he felt much surprise in his heart, and on the following Sabbath he again entered the church, and heard those holy Scriptures with discernment. From that day on a surpassing diligence was his, and he gathered storax, and bought also that which his fellow-shepherds gathered, and with discernment placed it before our Lord, saying, "Let the sweet odor go up to God who is in heaven."

And after a few days, there appeared to the Blessed One a visitor as he was with the sheep. This was the first vision which he saw. For he saw that there came a man who stood by him, whose appearance was like lightning, his garments shining as the sun, and his face like rays of fire. He held a golden staff in his hand, and called and raised him up. When the Blessed One raised his eyes and saw this wonderful sign, he trembled and was affrighted, and fell upon his face on the ground. But he gave him his hand and, raising him up, said to him, "Be not afraid, but come after me without fear, for I have something to tell thee and shew thee. (510) For the Lord wills that through thy hand His Name should be glorified. And thou shalt be chief and director and leader to his people, and to the sheep of his pasture, and by thy hand shall be established the laws and the commandments of the Holy Church. And many thou shalt turn from error to knowledge of the truth. And if thou dost serve acceptably, thy name shall be great among the Gentiles and even to the end of the earth, and kings and judges shall obey thee and thy commands. Only have patience and endurance, and let love be in thee toward all men. If thou dost indeed observe these things, not among the first and not among the last shall he be who glorifies himself and becomes as great as thou art."

Then afterwards he took him, and, going up to the mountain, placed him on its top and showed him stones which were lying there. And he said to him, "Take, and build!" Said

the Blessed One to him, "I do not know how to build, for I have never constructed any building." He said to him, "Stand by and I will teach thee to build." Then he brought a stone which was carved and was very beautiful, and put it in the hands of Mar Simeon, and said to him, "Place it firmly at the east, and another on the north, and toward the south another, then place one upon them, and the building will be completed." Said to him the Blessed One: "My Lord, what is this?" The man replied, "This is an altar of that God whom thou dost worship, and to whom thou dost offer incense, and whose Scriptures thou hast heard."

(p. 511). Then he lead him from there, and said to him, "Come after me", and he took him into a martyrion which was near there, in which was laid Mar Timotheus the disciple of the apostle Paul. And when he was about to enter it, he saw before the court of the temple people, who could by no means be numbered; and they were clothed in white, and were like to bridegrooms. From the north also some in likeness of women clothed in purple, both modest and adorned with great beauty. The Blessed One asked him, saying, "My Lord, who are these?" And he returned answer and said to him, "These men and women whom thou seest, these are they who are destined to receive at thy hands the Sign<sup>1</sup> of the Messiah, and be turned to the knowledge of the truth." Then he showed him also birds in the form of peacocks whose appearance was like the flame of fire. From their eyes went forth as it were swift lightnings. And when they saw the Blessed One, they unfolded their wings, and raised their heads and uttered a cry loud and strong, so that the earth trembled from their voice. Then the man motioned quietly and gently with the staff which was in his hand and made them be still.

Again he led the Blessed One and brought him within the temple; and when they had reached the altar and stood that they might pray, there went up from beneath the altar a man of pleasant mien whose appearance was more comely than the sun. His beauty was beyond compare, his face was glad (p. 512) and his countenance exceedingly cheerful. His hair was sprinkled with white and grew in clusters. And his

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<sup>1</sup> I. e. Baptism.

garments were white, and his speech was soft and pleasant. And approaching, he greeted the Blessed Mar Simeon three times with much love, and said to him, "Blessed art thou, Simeon, if thou art equal to the part and service to which thou art called." Then the two of them laid hold of him and brought him to the altar, and he<sup>1</sup> put in the mouth of Mar Simeon something white like snow and round like a pearl, and thus he said: "Such a taste and such sweetness can not be found in the world." And his soul was satisfied and fat exceedingly. Then this man gave him the golden staff which he held, and said to him, "With this staff thou art to shepherd the flock of Christ. Be strong and mighty." And when he had said these things to him, he became invisible and ascended.

And after a while the Isaurians made a raid, and they came and entered Sis, the native village of the Blessed One, which was in the region of Nicopolis, and the saint happened to be there. And they lifted up their hands, the Isaurians, against him, and took him. But the Lord delivered him from their hands. And they took many people captive, with Thomas, the son of the brother of the Blessed One, who also had departed from this world with a good name after living as an ascetic. Then the Blessed One arose and went after those who were taken captive, and he found them (513) in Kastelēn, encamping. And when the sentinels of the camp saw him, they seized him with watchful care, and led him to their chiefs, of whom the name of one was Bos and of the other Altamdora. They said to him, "Why is it thou hast been so rash as to come hither? And thou hast not feared, and thy heart hast not trembled?" And he turned and said, "For the redemption of Thomas, my brother's son, and of this captivity have I come." And when they saw, they were filled with anger, and gave order that they should take off his head with the sword. One of them then drew a dagger that he might smite him, when immediately his right hand cleaved to his shoulder. And when they saw, fear fell upon them, and Bos their chief commanded that they should set out for another place. And when the Blessed One saw that they did not receive his supplication, he became incensed, and lifted up his hand against Bos, when immediately an unclean spirit

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<sup>1</sup> Assemani's text has: He who had come up from beneath the altar.

took possession of him, and before the Blessed One he was convulsed, while he cried out and said, "Alas! thou servant of Jesus Christ." When the Isaurians saw this phenomenon they were exceedingly affrighted, and they approached the Saint and said to him, "Tell us in truth if thou art the servant of God." He said to them, "I am a Christian." Then the Isaurian chief, as he stood in misery, said to the Blessed One, "My sins were stirred up against me in thy coming to me. But I beseech thee, offer up petition in my behalf." The Blessed One said, "If indeed thou askest that I should offer petition on thy behalf, deliver into my hands this captivity which thou hast taken captive. (p. 514) For lo, their crying has gone up before God. And this trial He sent upon thee." Now this captivity was in number, men and women, four hundred. Then the Isaurian chief besought him that he would pray for him, and he would give the captivity into his hands. So the saint kneeled down and prayed. And when he finished his prayer, he stretched out to him his right hand and said to him, "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ be healed." And immediately the unclean spirit departed from the man, and he was recovered, and he delivered all the captivity into the hands of the Blessed One. And the Blessed One, on his part, as he lead away all the captivity, commanded them that they should tell no one anything of what Christ had performed through his hands, for the deliverance of their lives; and he dismissed every one to his own country in peace. While he was travelling on the mountain, he and Thomas, the son of his brother, his nephew thirsted for water. And the Blessed One lifted up his eyes, and prayed saying, "Oh Christ, who redeemed him from captivity, do not let him die of thirst." And at once water burst forth in the dry place, and they drank. And when their thirst was quenched, the water was sought but could not be found. And he led the youth and brought him to the village of the house of his kinsfolk.

After these things the saint was in a fast twenty-one days, while he neither ate nor drank, a man who from his youth with food of flesh and drink of wine had been nourished. After those days he desired to eat. Now there was there in the village a certain man, a fisherman, and that very night he had caught fish, not a few. (p. 515) He had a daughter whose



name was Mary, and her father left the fish with her and went away. And when the Blessed One came, he desired that she should give him three pounds, and take the price for it. But she denied with an oath, saying, "My father has not brought anything today." And when he went away from her, he stood with some soldiers who were on guard there because of the Isaurians, and with some of his townspeople. And as they were standing and talking, on a sudden something entered the girl and the fish and carried them out to the street before all the people; the girl herself leaping and gnashing her teeth and smiting her head and crying out at the Blessed Mar Simeon, while the fish also were leaping toward him. And when the soldiers and the citizens saw this sign, they feared, and desired to gather the fish or calm the girl who was acting in such a shameful manner. But they could not. Then her father came, and many of her people, and they besought the Blessed One, and he went and took hold of her, and immediately she became quiet, and the fish also became still. The saint said to her, "Because thou didst lie, God hath exposed thee publicly." Those things did our Lord by the hands of the Blessed One, and he thoroughly fulfilled his petition, because it was not in gluttony he asked. For as he went out from there to the flock, as he wandered along on the mountain, he found a large fish, and having made the sign of the cross, he took it and went back to the village. When those soldiers (p. 516) who had been standing in the village saw it, they marvelled. And our Lord did also here a miracle. For for three days those soldiers and his fellow-townsmen ate of it, and scarcely then was it consumed, because the blessing of the Lord rested upon it. Two of the soldiers who were there loved the Blessed One ardently, whose names were Selwāna and Bar Shabbatha. And until he stood upon the pillar, they came and went in his presence, and narrated many things before him and his disciples.

The Blessed One was constant in fasting and prayer, entering the church among the first and going out among the last, while the greater part of the time he was passing the nights in the church. And from dawn until dark he was on his knees, and from dark till dawn he was standing in prayer. And when he was many times in these exercises, those who were of the same age as he were watching him, that they

might see if he moved his feet, and changed from the spot in which he stood. But no one could find this in his case.

He had a brother whose name was Mar Shemshi, and it was his wish to have the inheritance divided with him. He said to him, "Do as you please, and whatever you want appropriate without controversy." But his brother on his part divided everything rightly. For they had a paternal aunt, who was extremely rich. And in those days (p. 517) she departed from the world, and everything that she owned she left to the Blessed One. And everything she left he administered in the fear of God and gave to the poor and the needy; and especially he provided for the monastery of the Blessed Mar Eusebona, because the son of his paternal uncle was there, a man set for a sign, who was in the monastery thirty-five years. And from the time he entered the door of the monastery he had not turned back to see it.<sup>1</sup> And the Blessed One remembered that he had gone to that convent. After these things he remained four months, because he had seed sown, and because he had many affairs to attend to in other convents and with the poor. But in all the fast of the forty days, while he was living in the city, he tasted no food except the Eucharist which he received when he was half way through the fast. And he waited until the great day. Also, again, in the matter of his seed which he had sown, our Lord did a great miracle. For he allowed the gleaners and the poor among the sheaves, and said to them, "Let everybody take as much as he can carry." And our Lord sent a blessing upon it, and there came forth sixtyfold and a hundred-fold. And bread also and boiled food he took out to the reapers. From it he set in order before the gleaners and before the poor, and they ate and were satisfied. And he with his own hands served them, and mixed the wine for them. And these things the Blessed One told not in pride, but confessing and praising God for his providence towards him (p. 518), repeating that which the apostle said, that "The gift of God is greater than can be told." After these things he loaded whatever he had on camels, and took it to the convent of Mar Eusebona, and from it distributed in the other convents. And when he had been in the convent of

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<sup>1</sup> I. e. the door.

Mar Eusebona three days, it happened that there came there Mar Mara, bishop of Gabola, a notable man. And the head of the convent brought him and presented him to him that he might be blessed by him. And when he saw the Blessed One, how fair of face and comely of visage he was, he marvelled at him and was astonished. His brother also, Mar Shemshi, came to Mar Mara that he might be blessed by him. And when he saw him he said to him, "See, my son, that thy brother, who is younger than thou, hath chosen for himself that good part to which nothing is equal." And when Mar Shemshi heard his words, he also determined to become a monk. So he blessed them, and they two took the tonsure together. And they became choice vessels suitable for the use of their Lord, and finished their days in good reputation and in the service of righteousness. And when he went away from him, this Mar Mara, the bishop, said to the abbot and to those who stood by him, "Truly, this blessed one, if the brethren permit him, will become a chosen vessel acceptable to God, and his fame will go out from one end of the earth to the other. For I know what sign I have seen in him" (p. 519).

And when Shemshi his brother had been with him about five months, he also went and distributed whatever he owned to the poor, and to the convents. And whatever was left over he loaded on beasts of burden and brought to the convent where he was a novice.

The Blessed Mar Simeon had no care for anything except how he might please his Lord. And when he had been with the monks a long time, he separated from them and went and digged for himself a hole in a corner of the garden up to his breast, and he stood in it two years in the oppressive heat of summer and the severe cold of winter. When the monks saw his hard toil, and no one of them was able to vie with him in his ascetic practices, they were filled with jealousy, and said to the abbot, "If he is not placed on an equality with us, he can not live here." When the abbot saw the will of the monks, he entreated him either to mingle with the brothers or to diminish his toil; but he did not obey. Then the abbot said to them, "My sons, what should impel us to be hinderers to him who is constraining himself for our Lord's sake?" One of the brothers thought that in hypocrisy he stood

in that place, and wished to test him. So he came and stood above him, but in that very hour the justice of the Lord thrust him down and he fell and became dumb. The brothers who happened to be there ran and carried him and came and put him under a certain tree; and he vomited blood, and after three days died.

His practice while he was with the brotherhood was thus: from Sunday to Sunday<sup>1</sup> (p. 520) he took for himself some soaked lentils, but sometimes once in two weeks, or even once in three, while he constrained himself with severe effort. And when they forced him to sit at the refectory table, he gave himself the appearance of taking the food, although in reality he ate nothing at all. For the blessed morsel which he received with the other brothers from the abbot he placed under the cover of his couch, and without his intent the brothers found it. Again, when the brothers finished the nocturns and lay down to rest, he would hang a stone about his neck all the time that his companions were resting. When it was time for them to arise, he untied the stone from his neck, and stood with them for the service. But on one of the nights, when he had put the stone on his neck, he was tempted by Satan and sleep fell upon him. Of a sudden he collapsed and fell headlong, and his head was wounded; but he took some of the dust of that place in which he was standing, made the sign of the cross upon it, and closed with it the wound, which immediately was healed so that he had no sort of injury. Afterward he procured a certain round piece of wood, and stood upon it at night, so that if he chanced to fall asleep, the piece of wood would roll from under him.

When the brethren saw his severe toil, and desired to conduct themselves in like manner but were not able, they planned how they might bring false accusation against him. (p. 521) So they said to a certain simple-minded brother of the convent, "Take a dish and put into it morsels of bread and bits of cooked food; then go and show it to the abbot and say to him, 'This food I took from Simeon as he was partaking of it. This mode of life which he keeps up is mere dissimulation.'" When the abbot heard, he called him and

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<sup>1</sup> This means that he partook of food on the successive Sundays *only*.

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accused him. But he upon this affair returned no answer, because he thirsted that there might be accomplished in him that which our Lord said, "Blessed are ye when men say against you all manner of evil for my sake, falsely."<sup>1</sup> And again the abbot called him and said to him, "Declare if in truth this was spoken about thee," and threatened him with excommunication. Thereupon he revealed to him that it was said about him falsely.

Again, there was there a certain place where wood was piled, and he went and hid himself in it. The brethren thought that he had surely left the convent; but as one of the hebdomadaries went to bring wood he found him standing huddled up in a corner, and came and made it known to the abbot. Then he and the brethren went and entreated him, but he was with difficulty persuaded to go with them and receive the eucharist.

And again, there went one of the hebdomadaries and heated a poker red-hot and said to him, "If thou hast in thee faith and trustest in thy God, take this poker." He immediately signed himself with the cross and took it with both hands. They expected (p. 522) that nothing would be left of his hands, but he despised them (i. e. his hands), and there was no injury at all done him, for it was as though his hands had been put in cold water. Although great indignation fell upon him from the brethren, yet he did not slacken his toil.

After these things he took a hard rope, and wound it round his body many times, until his body swelled out over the rope and hid it. And when the abbot knew it, he compelled him, but with difficulty, to loosen it from him, filled with flesh and blood from his body.

One time as he stood and prayed, Satan appeared to him in the likeness of mist and smote him suddenly upon his eyes and took his vision. And after a long time the abbot besought him to let him bring a physician to see him. But he was unwilling, and said to his brother, "Take me and lead me to the sepulchre in which the blessed ones are placed. I will beseech them, and they will pray for me." And when he had been there three days without sight, in the middle of the night flashes of light appeared to him, until all the

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. 5:11.

house became light from it. And in that hour his eyes were lightened as formerly, and he went to the brethren. And when they saw him, they marvelled at him.

Now there was near the convent a certain cave which was dark and terrible, so that even if in the daytime one saw it he was terrified and trembled, from the sound of roaring (p. 523) which was heard from its interior. And when the fast of the forty days came, this Blessed One went to that cave, and there had many a conflict with Satan. For there came against him serpents and vipers, puffing up and hissing. Moreover, he showed himself in the likeness of a leopard and of terrible beasts. Yet he did not feel afraid at the sight of them, and was not alarmed by their noise, but gave himself over to prayer, and was looking to heaven and making the sign of the cross upon his breast, when suddenly Satan disappeared, vanishing like smoke before the wind. Then a great light shone in that cave, and a voice was heard by the Saint which said, "Lo, the brethren are jealous of thee, and Satan harasses thee; but be strong and of good courage, because the Lord will not let go of thy hands. For lo, his grace keeps thee and his right hand upholds thee, and a head to thy brethren he will make thee, and Satan shall be trampled under thy feet." When the fast was ended, the brethren sought him in every place and did not find him. And when the abbot saw that he was not there, he said to them, "Take a lamp and go, enter and seek the Blessed One in that cave for our Lord's sake; perhaps he has entered there; let him not die there, lest we be punished for sinning against him." So brethren in whom was the love of our Lord, arose, and took lamps and candles, and entered and sought him diligently, and they found him standing in a certain corner of the cave. Then they led him away and brought him to the convent, and he received the eucharist with all the brethren.

(p. 524) The brethren then assembled and said to the abbot, "Choose one of two things. Either keep this brother and we will depart, or send him away, and keep us." But the abbot, because he was not willing to drive away the brethren of his convent, who were a hundred and twenty, pacified them by saying, "If he is not persuaded to put himself on an equality with you, I will do your pleasure." And when for a whole year he besought him, and he did not relax from his

asceticism, and the brethren did not desist from their importunities, and the fast of the forty days drew near, the abbot summoned him kindly and said to him, "Thou knowest, my son, how much I love thee, and in nothing have I distressed thee, and I have not sought that from here thou shouldst go; but because of the brethren's importunity, and the laws enacted by former abbots, and since I am not able to deviate from their laws, arise, get thee to such a place as our Lord appoints for thee. And if the Lord knows that in heart and truth thou art seeking him, he, the Lord himself, will give thee thy petition and thou shalt be head to thy brethren. And this convent in which thou hast been a disciple shall be to thee sustaining and supporting; and I shall hear that the Lord magnifieth thee, and I shall rejoice over thee." Which also happened to him. In the lifetime of his master he became very famous, and his renown went out into the world and before kings, and he heard and rejoiced. And when the abbot finished his course, into the hands of the Blessed One he committed the monastery. He also was a perfect man, who from boyhood to old age had lived in the monastic rule. When he was five years old he entered the convent, and he departed (p. 525) from the world seventy-nine years old, having lived in amazing and wonderful practices. He then gave to the Blessed Mar Simeon four dinars as he arose and departed, and said to him, "These shall be for thy clothing and sustenance until mankind appreciates thee." And the Holy One on his part said to him, "Far be it from Simeon thy servant that he should hold a dinar in his hand. But instead of these which enrich me not, supply me with prayers which aid me." So he prayed for him and blessed him, saying to him, "Go in peace, and may the Lord be with thee forever."

With that separation, therefore, he went out from the convent. And when he had gone a short distance from the convent, he found a road which led to the north. As though it was from the Lord, he turned aside and went in it until he entered the borders of Telneshē. Then he turned aside from the way and stood in prayer under a tree until evening. And he asked in prayer and thus he said: "Oh Lord God, who createdst me in the womb of my mother as thou didst will, and broughtest me forth to this light in thy grace, and

implantedst in my mind thy fear as thou didst will, and didst separate me from the house of my fathers in thy mercy, and I have borne thy cross and followed thee according to thy word, and thou hast guarded me from evil and from all their powers in the day of my adversity,—be to me a good guide and protector, that to that place to which thy Glory is pleased, I may come.” And when he finished his prayer, (p. 526) he arose and went down in the way until he came to a certain mountain which was in the town of Telneshē, before the beginning of the fast of the forty days, in the year four hundred and fifty-eight in the chronology of the city of Antioch. There he sat down in a certain valley, considering again in his mind that he would turn to the desert. Then he stood in prayer a long time, and thus he said in his prayer: “O Holy Lord God, if it is thy pleasure that in this town I keep the forty days’ fast, at whatever convent I shall knock first let him who comes out answer me and say to me, ‘Enter thou, sir,’ simply, without investigation.” And when he had finished his prayer, our Lord directed him straight to the convent of Maris bar Barathon of Telneshā, who was the chief of the town. In that time there happened to be there in that convent an old man, a son of the world (i. e. a layman), and a small boy about seven years old. When the holy master knocked, that boy at once went out with great alacrity and opened the door; and when he saw the Blessed One, he greeted him and said to him, “Enter, my master.” The Blessed One said to him, “Go in, my son, make known to the abbot.” The boy said to him, “No, indeed, sir, but do thou enter; I will not let thee go.” And he clung to him, and forced him to enter. When he went and told the old man, he also came out quickly and in gladness received him, with affection and love, as though he had known him a long time, since his way was directed from the Lord. And there were no brethren dwelling there, except the old man, and the boy, because it was from the Lord, and they happened to be there and (p. 527) receive him. So he lodged with them in honor. Then in the morning the Saint said to the old man, “I was seeking a place where I might hide myself in this fast.” He said to him, “Lo, all the convent is before thee. Wherever thou wishest I will make for thee a place.” And he sent and called his son, whose name was Maris, and he



fixed for him a certain small upper room, which was satisfactory to his mind.

There happened to come there Mar Bas the periodeutes of blessed memory. And he was a man set for a sign, a servant of the Messiah, rejoicing in virtue and far from envy. He was of the people of Edessa of Mesopotamia, a son of senators. And when he had come and talked with the Blessed Mar Simeon, in the love of our Lord, those things which are seemly and becoming to the fear of God, for he was a wise and holy man, then he blessed him and closed the door upon him, and locked it. And he constrained the holy master, and placed with him seven small loaves, and filled a cab<sup>1</sup> of water. And after forty days had passed, the Holy Mar Bas came with great eagerness, and opened the door, and found those seven loaves untouched, and the cab of water full, and the Blessed One kneeling and praying. And every one was astonished and marvelled who happened there, all the more so because at once when they gave him the holy eucharist<sup>2</sup> he was strengthened and arose and went out (p. 528) with him to the court. The next day, he sought that he might go to the desert, but they persuaded him, and built for him a cell on the mountain. And there was also in Telneshē a priest at that time, whose name was Daniel, a Christian man. This same one gave a place in his field, where the cell was built.

And the next year, again at the beginning of the fast of the forty days this same master, the Blessed Bas, came and sealed up the door of the cell. And when the forty days were fulfilled, he brought with him the presbyters in whose district he was, and also, with design, some of the periodeutes his companions. And they came and opened the door, and when they gave him the eucharist, our Lord did there a great miracle. For a certain man from Telneshē who was one of the rulers of the city, whose name was Marenēs, brought with him a *hin* filled with ointment. And as Mar Bas stood, and those who came with him, and all the populace, he brought it to the saint that he might bless it. And when he said, "May our Lord bless," at that moment it bubbled up and overflowed like a seething caldron, until all that place was

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<sup>1</sup> Nearly  $\frac{1}{2}$  pint.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. hot coal, see Is. 6.

filled with the ointment, and it was poured forth so that all the people took from it. Also they brought many vessels and took from it, yet it was not brought to an end, but filled and overflowing it went down with that man and was in his house, (p. 529) filled, for many years. And healing and remedy in abundance came to everybody from that ointment. This was the first sign which was wrought through the hands of the Blessed Mar Simeon in public, after he had gone out from the convent.

For secretly, also, many battles he had with the Enemy of the good. For Satan brought against him, as he stood and prayed, a black serpent which was very fierce, and it puffed and hissed and threatened him and coiled itself up between his feet, and wound itself about the leg of the holy man many times, up to his knee, and tightened like a rope, as though it would terrify him and take him from prayer. But the Saint was not terrified, but persevered in prayer. And when he had finished his prayer, he raised himself erect, and went out that he might go away. And when he was a little way from it, the messenger of the Lord smote it, and rent it from end to end. Again, after ten days, as he was standing praying by night, he saw the appearance of a dragon. It was fierce, large and fearful, and changed its appearance. It hissed, and whistled violently, and lashed its tail upon the ground, and rattled and made a noise, so that the earth was moved at the sound it made, and there went out from it as it were flames of fire. Out of its nostrils went forth smoke, and its eyes flashed like lightning. Its length too was considerable. But he, the heroic one, was not daunted, but lifted up his eyes and his hands towards his Lord, and turning blew at it as he said (p. 530) "Our Lord Jesus Christ rebuke thee." And immediately it vanished, and was not.

The holy Mar Bas, the Periodeutes, after he went down from the presence of the blessed master, in the church before all the people, said as with prophetic inspiration, while he marvelled, that many signs our Lord would do by the hands of this Blessed One, so that neither by the hand of a prophet nor by the hand of an apostle had our Lord done more than these. For the kings of the earth and the great ones would come to greet him and prostrate themselves to him, and would seek from him that he should pray for them—which indeed did happen.

Now there was a certain man in the village Yathlaha, which was distant from Telneshe about three miles, who was a rich man and chief of the village. This same man had a daughter who had been a paralytic from the time she was a child, and she had not even been able to move for about eighteen years. They brought her and placed her on the north of the cell, and her father entered and told the Blessed One and besought him to pray for her. And he said to him, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, take some of this dust, and go out, and apply it to her." Now there was no ointment there that might be given, nor could they give any *hnāna*<sup>1</sup>, for he had been there only a year and two months. But as soon as that dust touched her in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, (p. 531) she sprang up, and stood up well; and they gave praise to God, all who saw her. Then on foot she ascended the entire length of the mountain. And her father built for her a convent, and she dwelt in it all the days of her life. This one, then, was the first paralytic who was healed there, and this sign was wrought there, and her father remained with the Blessed One all the days of his life.

After this there came to him two boys who were paralytics, sons of two sisters from the vale of Antioch. One was born paralytic, and the Evil One smote the other six months after he was born and paralyzed him. And a man from Telneshe happened to be passing and saw them, and he told their people about the Blessed One. For hitherto his fame had not gone out. And when they came with them, they brought them in and laid them down before him. As he looked at them he was much moved, because the boys were beautiful. Now they had been in that pitiable condition seven years. And when he finished his prayers, he called those who had brought them and said to them, "Anoint them with this dust in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." And just as soon as they anointed them, they leaped up and stood and went back and forth before the Blessed One. So they both of them went away healed, rejoicing and praising our Lord.

Again, there came there a certain soldier, (p. 532) who had done a dreadful deed. For as he was going along the road he saw a certain virgin maiden whom he took by

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<sup>1</sup> "Mercy"; a compound of consecrated earth, oil, and water.

force and outraged. And immediately an evil spirit smote him and threw him from his horse, and he withered up like dry wood. He could not talk, neither moved, nor knew any one. And they brought him and laid him before the saint a whole day. When he had ended his prayer, he commanded, and they smeared him with some dust which was before him and also threw water upon him. Then his reason returned, and he sat up, speaking. Then the saint said to him, "Dost thou promise that never again thou wilt do according to that wicked deed?" And he promised that never would he do anything wicked and impious. Thereupon he said to him, "Rise, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." And immediately he sprang up and stood and walked. And he went away whole, rejoicing and praising God.

After him there came there a certain man tortured by an evil spirit. For it would lie with him on the bed in the likeness of a woman, and he was greatly tortured and afflicted. When the saint saw him, he said to him, "Anoint thee with that dust in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and make with it the sign of the cross three times in thy house, and thou shalt not see it again." And he did as he said to him, and never again an impious thing did he see, until the day of his death.

And in those same days, again, there came to him a certain man from Halab, who brought his son with him (p. 533) bound with chains, because an evil spirit had suddenly come upon him. He would stone his parents with stones, his reason was completely taken away, he wore no clothing at all, and was continually chewing his tongue and biting his arms. And when his father came, he entered and threw himself down before the Blessed One (because up to this time he stood on the ground), and with tears and bitter groans he besought him. And the Blessed One answered and said to the father, "Weep not, but loose from him those bonds." And when his father loosed him, the saint called the boy, and immediately he answered him with joy. And he said to him, "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, take some of this dust which is before thee, and anoint all thy body." And the boy himself took it in his hands and anointed all his body. Then he commanded, and they brought water, and he blessed it and took it and caused him to drink and threw some on his face. At

once his reason returned, and he knew his father, and ran and went and kissed the garments of the saint, and was blessed by him. He lodged there that day, and in the morning went away with his father, healed and praising and blessing God, because He had become his healer through the hands of the saint.

After these things, there was a certain deacon about three miles from the cell, who went out to the harvest, having with him a small boy. As the deacon was reaping and the boy was playing, there went out a fierce black serpent, and coiled himself about the legs of the boy, and began squeezing, while the boy began to howl, calling for help (p. 534). The deacon, then, when he saw it, said to it, "By the prayers of Mar Simeon who stands in Telneshē, hurt him not." At once it departed from him, and coiled itself up, and was like a string, and did him no hurt at all. Three days it was thus. And all the village went to see it, and they came and told the Blessed One. He said to that deacon, "Go and say to it, 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, go away and do not hurt any one'." After that the serpent was released and went away.

Another time they brought to him a boy from the vale, who had a stone in the bladder and was greatly tortured and afflicted. Much money, too, had been spent upon him for physicians, and no one had helped him at all. And when he came to the saint, and he saw him, he gave commandment, and they brought water, and he said to his father, "Put some of that dust in it in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and give to him to drink." And immediately when he drank of that water, our Lord gave him deliverance. For there went out from his bladder a round stone, and immediately his internal organs were completely relieved. So he went away well, rejoicing and praising God.

Now an elder of Telneshē loved Mar Simeon greatly, and was with him constantly. The saint's cell stood in his field, and whatever he wore as clothing (p. 535) this elder bought for him at his own expense. And one time the elder came up with all his deacons to the Blessed One, to pay him a visit. And one of those deacons who was steward in the church, joking with him, said to the saint, "Untie that little purse of thine and make a distribution to my master's household". But he said to him, "Did some one tell thee that I have money, or didst thou perceive it?" And at once his reason turned

upside down, and he became as weak as water, and he tore his garments. They took him down, carrying him, and he remained two days in dreadful agonies, tortured, beating his head and gnashing his teeth; then he died.

After these things the saint formed the purpose of shutting himself up three years, so that he should not see any one and also no one should see him. And he made for himself a chain twenty cubits long, and put it on his leg and fastened it in a rock. It happened that there came along the holy man, the lover of God, Mar Bas, and the elder of the village, and they constrained him by entreaties until he divided those three years in half. Then this Mar Bas constrained him, and left with him a peck and a half of dry pulse, a peck for a year. For he had there a large urn of water, which contained three cabs. And when he had stopped up the door and was all alone, there suddenly appeared to him the Adversary, who made a great contest with the Blessed One and began to war with him openly. For he came upon him (p. 536) in the likeness of soldiers who were riding horses. And they drew their swords and filled their bows and left their horses for an onrush upon the Blessed One. But he, the holy saint, from the service of his Lord did not cease. Once again they ascended and stood on the wall of the cell and rolled stones down on him, in order that he might betake himself from that place in which he was standing. And one day Satan appeared to him in the likeness of a camel which was lustful and foaming and mischievous, coming and putting its head upon his back. When he reached the Blessed One, there was one in the likeness of an old man standing before the Saint, and he took dust and threw it in the mouth of the camel, when at once it vanished and was not, disappearing like smoke before the wind. Then the old man said to him, "Fear not, be of good courage and be strong."

Another time Satan came with his host, and they were bearing lighted torches. They appeared like flashes of fire ascending even to heaven. Again, they came and stood by him, and were crying and clamoring a long time that they might hinder the Blessed One in his religious exercise. But he was not afraid of them, neither was he terrified by their shriekings, but kept occupied in the service of his Lord. Sometimes they appeared as though destroying rocks and

stones, and like the noise of thunder and like the sound of weeping, and as though men, again, were quarrelling with their fellows (p. 537) with spears and swords, and there were some who cried with doleful shrieks, "Thou hast killed me!"

Again Satan appeared to him in the likeness of a lion, which came from the door and opened its mouth, and there went forth from its mouth as it were flames of fire, and it threatened and roared and lifted up its voice, and pawed with its feet and sent the gravel flying clear to the heavens. Then it rushed upon him violently. While its insane fury continued, after its manner, the Saint did not neglect his religious exercises. Then, again, it vanished like its fellows, and was not.

That abominable one, the doer of evil deeds and lover of wickedness, appeared to the holy one at midday as he stood praying, in the likeness of a beautiful woman who was clothed with garments of gold and adorned with beautiful things, and she merrily laughed and came towards him. When the Saint saw her, he crossed himself, and turning breathed on her in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and immediately she became like a beast whose hands and feet were cut off, and wallowing in howling retreat as though many were pursuing her, until she reached a corner of the cell, she vanished like smoke.

After the saint had been imprisoned five months, and the enemy had warred with him in all forms and appeared to him in all varieties of shape, yet the Blessed One indeed from the service of his Lord had not ceased and from his heavenly labor had not turned, Satan went and collected snakes (p. 538) and scorpions and mice and field-mice and all abominable reptiles, and brought them and filled with them that tank of water which he had there, until it was putrid and the odor went outside of the cell. When the Blessed One saw that the place stank, and he was annoyed by the odor of the stench, he brought earth and stones and filled it. Many days passed, and when the heat was strong in the month of Tammuz, there was not a drop of water for his drink, and the day on which the door should be opened was still distant thirteen months. Being exceedingly thirsty, he digged in the ground where he was standing, and kneeled and put his mouth in it, breathing the coolness of the clay. Then he stretched his hands towards heaven and prayed, and thus he said in his prayer, "O Mighty

Lord, possessor of heaven and earth, according as thy Divinity knoweth deal with thy servant." And he continued in prayer to God a long time. When he arose from his prayer and crossed himself, he turned to his right hand and saw a brook filled with water, clear and cool and sweet. And when he saw it, he thought it was an illusion. And he came and prayed by it no little time. But the waters did not remove from their place, so he knew that this thing was from God to him; and it remained for his use until the day the cell was opened.

His clothing was patched with straw from the wild grain of the second year, which grew before him in the enclosure, and upon it he coiled a hard rope (p. 539). With this clothing he was clothed seven years; then he made him a cloak of goat leather.

Thus evil was put to confusion with all its retinue, and the Messiah was glorified by his faithful servant.

May our Lord be adored for his lovingkindness! He did not leave his Athlete in this contest, but speedily sent him consolation and comfort. For there appeared to him, after that commotion and clamor and strife, a beautiful man who was covered with a white stole, who came and stood in front of the window of the sacred treasury and folded his hands behind him. And he bowed and raised himself up many times. And when he had finished his prayer, he went to the eastern wall, and spreading out his hands to heaven, prayed a considerable time, then disappeared. From him, therefore, the Blessed One learned this custom, by which he bowed and stood up. For he knew and understood that that was the care of our Lord.

Now again after this there appeared to him beautiful boys who were clothed in white and bearing wax-candles lighted and golden crosses. They stood by the wall and just before the window of the sacred treasury, and sang praises, saying, "Blessed is the Lord who chose the elect in a strong city." And many times was heard there the voice of worship and of praise and of adoration, so that many of the people of the village, they who were passing the night in the threshing-floors and were rising early to go to work, heard the sound, and also saw the vision. For no one began to lodge in the mandra (p. 540), until Satan incited the robbers and brought against him three of them. They came and descended from the wall



at midnight, and one of them drew his sword and rushed violently against him. The other two raised their spears against him, which were bound with iron. But as that first one ran violently on and came, suddenly our Lord smote him upon his face and dimmed his eyes, and he swayed like a reed. And he was paralyzed and dropped down, his sword falling from his hands. Then, his mouth closed, he stood up there in that place, unable to move to either side. His companions, too, likewise continued, speechless, upon their spears, with their mouths closed. And at dawn they were standing, and so stood all day in extreme misery, bowed before him. When it was evening the Blessed One spoke with them and said to them, "Whence come ye? And what seek ye?" Thereupon two of them in great agony said to him, "We came as robbers, and descended that we might kill thee." One, indeed, could not open his mouth, but with closed mouth thus he remained. Thereupon the Holy One cried out (for them) three times, and at once they could uproot their legs from the ground. Then he said to them, "Go away, and do not again harm any one, lest ye suffer worse than this."

Now after those days of his imprisonment, when the year and a half was fulfilled, the Holy Mar Bas came, and a considerable crowd collected. And they opened the door and gave him the eucharist. (p. 541) That very day our Lord exhibited lovingkindness and shewed a marvellous sign. They opened the mortar into which had been put the lentils which the Holy Mar Bas left for him, and they found it full, just as they had left it, and they wondered and were astonished. Then the elders and deacons arose, and gave a present from it to all the people, from three o'clock even until nine, and it was not exhausted. Then there went up also widows of the city, and received their skirts full and went down, and still it remained just as it was. And also at this Mar Bas greatly wondered. Every one else wondered at it, too, for this was a marvellous thing.

After these things he set up a stone, that he might stand upon it, that had four bases<sup>1</sup> and was two cubits high.

Mar Bas, however, excused himself from further visiting and entered and dwelt in his convent, and our Lord gave prosperity

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. page 510.

in his hands, and he built an excellent monastery in which our Lord took pleasure.

After these things the Saint's fame began to be talked about in the world, and men began to flock to him from everywhere. For he stood upon that stone five years. And his fame began to spread abroad to all quarters, and men resorted to him from every place. And after the five years which he stood upon the stone, his brother Mar Shemshi fell asleep in good renown and works of righteousness. This thing also our Lord revealed to him, and did not hide from him concerning his departure. For, three days (p. 542) before, he called three elders, chiefs of the city, Marenes and Demetrianus and Maris, and said to them, "Before the door of this cell is opened, Mar Shemshi my brother will depart this life. But make a shrine and put him in it, and take heed that no one take him from you." For he saw thus: a certain tree which was loaded with much fruit and beautiful in its appearance, with its top-branches adorned and leafy and full of fruit, and its leaves pleasant to see, and to behold they were very delightful. And there was a certain branch in it which was shooting out from it. And there came a certain man of good appearance, whose aspect was very wonderful, and led with him four men who carried axes in their hands, and he said to them, "Cut down this branch from this tree, for it greatly hinders it, and keeps it from bearing much fruit." And lo, still another man appeared, who stood by it, who also on his part was adorned in his apparel and comely in his visage, and this man said, "Let us make another companion for it." But he answered and said to him, "A companion is not needed for it, for it is sufficient by itself both for those outside and for those inside." And when the branch was taken from the tree, the man commanded those four men and said to them, "Dig now, and go deep, and let the root of this tree be placed upon the rock, and fill up, going up even to its topmost branches, and let it be made very firm that it may not be shaken. For much is the fruit it will bear, (p. 543) and strong winds and billows and violent tempests will strike it." And as they digged deep and placed it, firmly setting its root, it put forth new shoots, and branching threw out limbs to all quarters, and bore much fruit, a hundredfold over that it had formerly borne. And beneath the root of that tree there sprang up suddenly a

fountain of mighty waters, and covered the mountains and hills, and it shot up and sprang up to the four quarters. And lo, again, suddenly there appeared much animal life, and birds innumerable, of every species and every form, great and small, from all quarters resorting and coming, eating of the fruit of that tree and drinking from the fountain. And in proportion as they ate and drank from it, the fruit of the tree increased and abounded, and the fountain also was mighty and strong-gushing. The tree was Mar Simeon, and the branch which was cut from it Mar Shemshi his brother. When the days of his brother were finished, he departed from the world, just as he had said in those days of the retirement in the cell.

When the day came and the door of the mandra of the saint was opened, God stirred up all mankind, as though a heavenly command from on high were upon all the world, and creation was moved that it should come; for there was no limit or reckoning to it, and the mountains were covered and the highways were filled. And no one could see any other thing except that human throng; it was not possible to know who were halting, nor who were setting out. His fame spread to the four quarters of creation, and it increased and became known unto the King of the West. (p. 544) And again, his fame was heard also even by the King of the East. Our Lord began to do and show by his hand wonderful miracles and marvellous wonders. And the gift of healing was given him from God, the story of which is too great for the mouth of mortal man. And was fulfilled the word of the apostle who said, "The gift of God is greater than we can tell." For what mouth of mortal man can venture to tell it; or what witness be found to record it, or what intelligence so sound as to be able to count or compute it; what benefits were from God by the hand of the Blessed Mar Simeon to all mankind? For how many afar off were brought near! And how many were wandering astray and by his word were turned from error to a knowledge of truth! How many thousands and tens of thousands who heard his commands were brought home and submitted themselves to the yoke of Christ! For who is he will count or reckon the thousands and the tens of thousands innumerable, who while savage came to the sight of him, and to his word and to his teaching divine, and joyfully surrendered themselves to the fear of Christ, and became workers and ser-

vants of the Truth! For the fame of his benefactions spread, which our Lord did by his hand, from end to end of creation. And that was fulfilled which the Prophet said,<sup>1</sup> "Their glad message is gone out in all the earth and their words to the ends of the world."

For letters of kings poured in, and by the hand of messengers in writings, petition and request with captains of their hosts they were sending to his righteousness. (p. 545) And they besought from his holiness that he would bless them and pray for their kingdom, and the rulers who were under their power, and that he would command them all whatever he pleased. For joyfully without refusal they received his word, and in the beginning of their letters, "father and teacher who from God is given to us," they addressed him. And they implored him that freely he would command concerning everything. But whatever praised and glorified God and was for their soul's welfare and of help to the poor and establishing their kingdom, he counselled and advised them.

But those kings, with the princes who were under the authority of their kingdom, joyfully received the answer of the letters of the Blessed One, and quickly did all that he commanded as his pleasure. And they praised God concerning the reports, news, and good things which they heard. And was fulfilled concerning him, the holy saint, that which our Lord said in his Gospel, "Blessed is the servant on account of whom the name of his Lord is praised." For by his diligence and his toil he was the cause of advantage to himself and to many, and the name of God was praised on his account and for his sake, from the rising of the sun unto its going down.

How many thousands and myriads who were even unconscious that there is a God, through the saint came to know God their Creator and became his worshippers and adorers! Again, how many unclean were sanctified, and how many (p. 546) licentious became chaste at sight of him! How many, also, who were not persuaded in the fear of our Lord, who came to hear him from distant places, when they saw his beautiful person and his discipline and never-ending toil, despised and left the transitory world with all that is in it, and became disciples of the word of truth, and many of them

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<sup>1</sup> Psalm 19, 4; cf. Rom. 10, 18, 1 Thess. 1, 8.

were vessels of honor! Again, how many harlots came there and from afar saw him, the Holy One, and renounced and left their places and the cities in which they had lived, and surrendered themselves to the Christ, and entering dwelt in convents and became vessels of honor, and with their tears they served their Lord and blotted out the list of their debts! How many distant Arabs who did not even know what bread is, but whose subsistence was the flesh of animals, when they came and saw the Blessed One, became disciples and were Christians and renounced the images of their fathers and served God! How many barbarians and Armenians and Aurtians and pagans of every tongue came continually, and every single day crowd upon crowd received baptism and confessed the living God! And there was no end to the Arabs and their kings and chiefs who there received baptism and believed on God and confessed the Messiah, and at the word of the Blessed One also built churches among their tents! How many oppressed were released by his word from their oppressors! How many (p. 547) bills of debt were torn up by his effort! How many maltreated were relieved from those who led them in bonds! How many slaves, too, were manumitted, and their documents torn up before the Holy One! How many orphans and widows were sustained and supported (after our Lord) by the standing of the Blessed One! His Lord did these things by his hands. He also magnified the priests of God sedulously, and the regulations and laws of the church were established by his care. He also gave command regarding usury, that one half of the usury on everything should be taken; and every person in joy received his command, so that there were many who remitted the whole of it and did not exact usury after he had commanded.

Now concerning the healing which our Lord gave through his hands, and how much deliverance and benefit came to men through his prayer, and to how many afflicted lives which had been crushed and tortured by smittings of various sorts from the workings of the Devil, by the hands of the Blessed Mar Simeon God was pleased to give alleviation and free them from the servitude of the Fiend, this for the mouth of mortals is too great to speak about. How many thousands and tens of thousands of afflicted, to whom our Lord gave help and deliverance, went away rejoicing from the presence of the

Blessed One, praising God. And that was fulfilled concerning the Blessed One, (p. 548) which our Lord said, "Those who believe in me, the works which I do shall they do, and greater than those." For what mouth would dare to tell or count or reckon the benefits even of one year which were conferred in the mandra of the Blessed One, to say nothing of fifty years! How many lepers were purified there! How many blind were led when they came, but, after our Lord had permitted them to see the light, went away praising God! How many hunch-backed, too, were straightened out by his prayers! Again, how many paralytics were conveyed there like luggage, and some of them, also, on litters, who were even unable to move, and our Lord by his prayer gave them help and deliverance, and they went out from his presence healed, running and rejoicing and carrying their couches and praising God who had magnified his lovingkindness to them! But because your mind is very eager to hear the exploits of holy men, and your attention desirous to learn what was done from God through his servants, and how much, too, he exalted and honored those who loved him, as much as our mind can, we will narrate a few things out of the many. For who is it measures the great abyss or counts the sand which is on the sea-shore, but God who made them? Thus, also, the treasures of the faithful and the exploits of the blessed ones there is no one who knows, except God their Creator.

The beginning, then, of the monastic life of the saint (p. 549) in the mandra was thus. He stood on a stone in the north-west corner of the mandra. Every year, during the holy days of the Lenten fast, he remained shut up in the mandra without food and drink until the day of the passover, being tempted by the evil Enemy of mankind, who envies the grace of the good and is the enemy of righteousness. He appeared to him in various forms, in a variety of moulds, like vipers and other serpents, just as he had appeared to him in the cave when he went out from the monastery; and they coiled themselves on his body with many threatenings, breathing fire, in order to turn him away from confidence in his Creator. But he stood in his integrity, and did not remove his eyes from heaven. And in the fast of the forty days Satan appeared to him in the form of a lion, and of a dragon which coiled itself all about his body and stung him on his foot. He had no power

over him, it was only that his Creator would show him that he had a human body. And in all this contest and war he was not brought down from his integrity, but Satan continued in his discomfiture and cried out, and howled with the rest of his hosts, and said, "Woe to us! Because the shame which we received from Job is renewed to us in Simeon who is from Şiş!" Many times this happened, yet he did not turn around, but stood in prayer uninterruptedly. And every year, every fast of the forty days, food such as is suitable for men did not (p. 550) come to his mouth. And many whom they brought with severe afflictions were healed by his prayers.

A certain monk, a paralytic, whose shanks were cleaving to his thighs, came to him, as they carried him, and they laid him down before the Saint. And with eyes lifted toward heaven, and standing in prayer, he besought the Lord in his behalf. Thereupon his legs were suddenly straightened, and he stood up and leaped before him like a hart, shouting with a loud voice, with the rest of the many people who were there, praising and blessing God, who had strengthened his weak limbs.

And after a while many people in the village of Telneshe were struck with sicknesses of severe tumors, so that many of them passed away from earth with the tumor-disease. Then all of them assembled and went up to the Blessed One and entreated him to offer petition on their behalf to God, that they might be delivered from the severe sicknesses which were sent upon them. Now as he stood in prayer, a certain stone eucharistic chalice was placed in the window which was before him. And as all of the assembly of the people stood, and petitioned and prayed him in behalf of their sicknesses, he lifted his eyes to heaven and prayed. And as he offered his prayer, suddenly that cup was filled with water, and overflowed on all sides upon the ground. And all the people ran, and rubbed themselves with the water, and immediately they were cured of the sickness of their tumors.

(p. 551) Again, a certain great man from the order of the nobles, who was an inhabitant of the West, who had heard the fame of the Blessed One, was lying ill of severe sickness, of a flux of blood of years' duration, so that on account of it he also endured severe trials, such that he was unable to put clothes on his body, because of the flux of his blood. This

was a secret, however, not revealed to any one, on account of his noble extraction. But he came to the Blessed One and besought him that from the hard trial which was upon him he might be delivered by his prayers. So he prayed for him to God, and the afflicted was delivered from his sickness. And he went to his house, exulting and praising God on account of the healing which had been given him by the prayers of the man of God.

And a certain woman who was led by an evil spirit and was in grievous torment and had not one quiet hour from the plague, but was rent by the devil, so that blood flowed from her mouth, she too came to the mandra of the Holy One. And when the many people saw her, they made a request of the Holy One in her behalf that he should petition God for her that she might be cured of her severe affliction. And he prayed to God and besought in her behalf. Then he dispatched a certain man of those who stood before him and sent word to the devil who was speaking by the mouth of that woman, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ I command thee to be still and not talk." (p. 552) In that very hour the unclean spirit departed from her, and she was healed of her devil.

Again, a certain great man, governor of a certain city of the land of Palestine, who was a heathen, had his head bent and his neck placed on his breast so that he could not lift his head up. But he came to the man of God, borne by two on a litter. And they presented request that he would ask mercy from God upon him, while he informed him that many physicians had given him up, and he had spent much money on account of his sickness with sorcerers and magicians, yet was not one whit better of his disease. And he cried out and said before him, as he clasped his feet and supplicated him, "From thee I will not depart, and from the door of thy God I will not remove, and my hands from thy feet I will not lift, and the prayer thou dost offer to God I will not allow thee, until thou dost place thy hands upon my head." And while he was thus speaking, he did not allow the man of God to pray. But the blessed saint answered him, saying, "I am a sinful man and least of all men, and my hands are not like those of all the rest of the bishops and monks which they placed upon thee. (p. 553) And one thing I say



to thee, that for a man to heal a man without the will of God is impossible. But I will commit thee to the hands of the living God, he who made the world in his mercy and his grace, he who can heal thee from the terrible affliction which thou hast." Thereupon he left off holding the feet of the Saint. Now it was his custom that at the time when he finished his prayer he knocked with his foot upon the little bench<sup>1</sup> which was placed against the rock on which he was standing. So when he reached the time for the ending of prayer, immediately he struck with his foot, and all of those who had been kneeling before him during the prayer started and stood up. And at once the afflicted one stood up healed from his sickness, his head lifted up from his breast, and he praised God with all the rest of the people who were there, because of the benefit and the healing which he had received. Much gold for the sake of his healing he offered to the man of God. But the Blessed One replied to him, saying, "I have no need of gold or silver. But I ask for thee that the light of truth may lighten thee through holy baptism for the forsaking of thy sins, and that thou shouldst free thy slaves who carried thee, that by their freedom thou mayst free thyself from Satan." When he heard the words of the Blessed One, everything that he commanded him he did, then went home in peace and in health, as he praised God, because by the hand of his holy servant he was healed from his affliction.

(p. 554) And after a long time there was a lack of rain in the land of the east and in this land, such that the earth on account of the drouht was near to fail to produce seed. And many people assembled from the east with the inhabitants of the mountain, and came with a request to the man of God, beseeching him and supplicating him that he would ask his God concerning this thing, that he should have compassion, and give hope to creation. He answered them, saying, "Turn to God and bring an offering to the Lord your God; turn away from evil and do good; then, turning, immediately he will have mercy upon you." So they did as he commanded them; whereupon the clouds poured forth rain and filled their cisterns as usual. And the reaper filled his hand, and the poor ate and were satisfied, and they praised and blessed God

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<sup>1</sup> *ܐܬܝܬܐܢܐ*, read *ܐܬܝܬܐܢܐ* *señador*; Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syr.*, p. 505.

their nourisher. Then the man of God made a vow between himself and his God, saying, "Because thou hast received my prayer, which in behalf of the poor and needy I brought to thee, I will appoint a memorial day and will present an offering to thee my Lord." Now it happened that on the first memorial day which he celebrated, people were gathered together without number, so that the mountains were covered with them. And there came seven tormented children who had been paralytics from their mothers' wombs, and they laid them down before him. He gazed on them, and lifting his eyes to heaven prayed, and committed them to the hands of God their Creator. And immediately their limbs became strong, and standing up they leaped for joy before him. (p. 555) Then all the people who were assembled together there offered praise to God, who had given power such as this to men.

Again, there came to him a certain rich man from Sheba, who had an illness severe and serious. For a grievous disease had besieged him in his brain for many years. He had incurred great expense for physicians; yet no one had helped him at all, but the affliction was all the more severe. Four spikes were fixed for him in the wall, and he sat between them and knocked and buffeted his head against this side and that. And when he learned about the saint from the merchants who went down to that place, he gave up and left all that he possessed, that only he might get help for himself. And he took with him five of his servants and five steeds, and furnished himself with food, and set out to come to the Saint. But God, who saw his faith, wrought a great miracle in his case. For they were people who knew not the way, and the country was difficult desert; but thus they narrated, that, as though some one were leading their camels, so they came on without either losing the way or even becoming confused. And no man from the Arab marauding bands harmed them, neither did wild beasts injure them, although lions abounded in all that region. And the disease, after he set out to come, on each succeeding day grew better. And more than all of these things, so they told us, those provisions (p. 556) which they had laid in did not lack anything but thus remained as they were when they set out with them, although they were living upon them until they rested at the mandra of the saint, for a full year. And when he entered

he cast himself before the Holy One, and made known everything just as it was, and how many pains and afflictions he had borne, lo, these many years. He commanded, and they brought water, and when he had prayed and blessed it, he commanded him in the name of Christ, and he drank of it; then he threw some on his head, and as soon as this water touched him, his disease fled from him, and he never felt it again, and all his body was relieved and quieted. Then he praised and blessed God and, receiving baptism, became a Christian. And finally, also, he departed this world with a great testimony.

Again, there came to him a chorepiscopus from the Persians, whom one of the Persian kings had sent. For he (the king) had an only son whom Satan had smitten so that he was paralyzed, and had been laid upon a bed fifteen years. Unless some one turned him over on his side, he did not move. He had given great wealth to the Magians and to the Sorcerers, but they did not help him at all. When he learned about the saint, he persuaded this same chorepiscopus and sent him, that he might beseech of the holy and pious one that he would pray for his son. He sent by him two silk hangings, very costly, ornamented with golden crosses all over them. And when he came and told the saint about the affliction of the boy, and then also (p. 557) showed those hangings, he said to him, "Take them with thee in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ as they are tied up, and go in peace. And when thou hast arrived at the boundary of the city, descend from thy ass, and take them in thy arms, and give no answer to any one. But enter carefully, and put them upon the breast of the boy and say to him, 'The sinner Simeon saith in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, 'Stand up'.'" And he went and did just as he commanded him, and the moment he placed them upon his heart and said to him as it had been commanded him, his disease departed from him and he sprang to his feet cured. And he rejoiced, and praised and glorified God. And he became a Christian and received baptism, he and his mother and his sister. And after a little while he came and was blessed by Mar Simeon, confessing the goodness which our Lord had shown to him; then he went away to his land in peace.

Another time there came to the Saint a certain governor from Armenia, son of the ruler of all that land, who was

highly esteemed by the king, to whom also the king had sometime given purple garments. He was suddenly attacked with partial paralysis, and his whole right side was withered, and his mouth was twisted, and his eye was fixed; and he had been bedridden for many years with many pains, without being able to turn from one side to the other. And besides, neither did he eat anything, except a spoonful of liquid with great distress. Then when the fame of the saint reached them, (p. 558) they put him in a litter, and took him up that they might bring him. Many people came with him, armed, horsemen, and servants with much baggage. Besides, there also came with him three elders and five deacons, with letters from the bishops of all that country, who had written to Mar Simeon a request that he would pray over him. For they loved him much, because he was a lovable youth, and his father was a believer and one who honored the Christians. When they had brought him in and placed him before the Reverend Sir, and the letters from the bishops had also been read, he sighed and raised his eyes towards heaven and pronounced a prayer over him with all the people. Having finished the prayer, he commanded and they brought water, which he blessed; then at his word they cast some of it upon him, and he cried and said to him, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, sit up." And at once he turned himself and sat up, and his reason returned, and he knew where he was. The saint said to him, "Take some of this water in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and do thou drink some of it with thy own hands, and put some on thy face and upon all thy body." And he took and drank and put some upon all his body. He said to him, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, stand up." And he sprang up cured. Then he ran back and forth in the mandra praising and blessing God, and he, too, a man who had been unable to turn over in his bed. He stayed there (p. 559) one week standing in prayer; and he manumitted three slaves. Then he entered Antioch, and came and prayed and received a blessing, and went away to his land in peace and in tranquillity, praising and blessing God and all his worshippers.

Again, there came some Easterners from a land so distant they were a year and a month in reaching the mandra, as they informed the saint, four men who were full of leprosy,

and three who were possessed of evil spirits. And when they entered, they cast themselves before him and told him of their affliction and the remoteness of their home. And they even opened their purses, and showed in the sight of the people, and said, "These are the provisions with which we furnished ourselves at home and set out. Today, lo, it is thirteen months that we have journeyed, and neither have we lost the way nor been in trouble." And when the Saint heard their words, he said to them, "That God who guarded the way before you, He also will grant that thing for the sake of which you have suffered." Then at his command they brought water, and he blessed it and said to them, "Take this in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the hope of whom ye came, and drink some of it, all of you, and also cast some all over your body." They did as he commanded them; when immediately their diseases vanished, and they were cleansed and recovered of their illnesses. And they praised and blessed God, and renouncing their superstitions they received baptism and became Christians. Then they departed rejoicing and adoring our Lord.

(p. 560) Again, there came there from inner Anazit, which is on the border of Armenia and Persia, in the days of Dionysius the military officer, a youth who had a severe and obstinate affliction. For suddenly a pain seized him in his head, his face swelled, and his sight was taken away, while his whole body became limp and weak, and the mucus which came from his nose and eyes had an extremely offensive odor. When his father heard the report about the Blessed One, he sent his son to Dionysius the military commander, and wrote asking him to use his influence with the Reverend Sir for his sake; he also sent heavy gifts by his hand. And Dionysius himself sent with him Dalmatius his sister's son. When they arrived and entered, they cast him before the Blessed One and told him whence he was, and about his affliction, how severe it was. He commanded, and they loosened the bandages with which his head and face were wrapped about. Then he cried out to him and said, "Stand up, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." And immediately he sprang to his feet. Then he continuing said to him, "Go, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and take for thyself in thy hands some of this water, and cast it upon thy face and all over thy body."

And the very moment that the water touched him in the name of our Lord, his affliction vanished from him and he was recovered and completely restored. And he came in and went out, and was with the Saint three days; then he went home, well and praising God. And when Dionysius the commander heard of it, he was amazed and marvelled and was confirmed in the Faith.

(p. 561) Neither in the case of Dionysius himself was the kindness small which was performed in him by God, by the hand of the Saint. For when he came to Antioch, he received letters from the Emperor that he should go down with an embassy to the Persians. Then suddenly Satan smote him on his face, so that his mouth was distorted and his whole face drawn to one side. The physicians came and gave him roots and salves, but he was not benefited at all. Then he came to the Saint, in distress, and said to him, "I have received letters from the Emperor that I should go down to the Persians. And lo, suddenly, what has happened to me! But I beseech thee, pray for me." And he gave command, and they brought water, and he prayed and blessed it and said to him, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, take it in thy hand and throw some on thy face and on thy head." And when he threw it as he commanded him, his face was restored, and his mouth, as though it had never been injured. And he burst out into exultation and blessed and praised God. The Saint said to him, "Go, and may the Lord God prosper thee on this journey, and thou do all which thou seekest, and go down in peace and come again in safety." The Lord prospered his way, and he was received magnificently and accomplished what he sought, and when he went up with pomp and honor, he came and prostrated himself before the Saint and received a blessing from him. And all the days of his life, whatever the Saint commanded him in behalf of the poor or about any matter, he gladly accepted, did obeisance, and performed his command.

(p. 562) Another time there came to him a certain elder from the region of Samosata, about seven days' journey. He told him about the fountain of his town, which watered all the fields of their town, and from which, after our Lord, was their supply for living. It suddenly failed and went dry, and they were troubled with thirst and for food. And they

had sought workmen, who had digged and delled, and expended much money upon it, but they could not find a drop of water in it. And when the elder came and told him this thing, the Saint said to him, "I have confidence in the Lord Jesus, that even while you are going out of this mandra our Lord will permit it to come to its normal condition. But go keep vigil and celebrate mass and make it known to our Lord." Then that presbyter noted down the time in which the Blessed One said it to him. And he went and found that the fountain had begun to flow and was gushing out and watering all those fields twofold more than it ever had. Then he took out the memorandum which he had made, and it was found that at the very time the saint was blessing the elder the fountain had burst forth in its usual condition. The elder then led out all his constituency, and they came and held divine service before the saint three days; then went back praising and blessing God.

Again, another elder from the region of Dalok: a certain mountain was near their village, about two miles off, and it kept creeping nearer little by little until it touched the border of the village. And from under it was heard the sound of waters, mighty as the abyss, (p. 563) and from their fear all the inhabitants of the village had forsaken it and fled. It was fearful, because they saw the mountain creeping and coming to bury them. And when they saw that calamity was fated for them, and there was no help anywhere, the presbyter arose and brought his whole village, from the greatest even to the smallest, and came to the blessed Mar Simeon. When they entered, they all cast themselves down before him and told him the whole matter. He said to them, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, take three stones, and make three crosses upon them, and go fix them before it, and there keep vigil three days and celebrate the mass. And I have confidence in the Lord that it will not come any nearer." And our Lord did there a great sign. For they went and did as he had commanded them, and on the third day of a sudden was heard from beneath the mountain the sound of a mighty crash like thunder, and the mountain sank away. And there went up from beneath it many waters and covered all that land. Then our Lord dried them up, and after three days the water was all swallowed up, and no damage was

done. The mountain had become level with the earth, and was like a plain. They sowed it that year with vetches, and got from it two hundred cors.<sup>1</sup> They carried loads of them on camels and beasts of burden, and divided among the monks and poor, while they confessed before everyone the kindness which had been wrought for them.

(p. 564) Again: another elder from the region of Mar'ash, whom some business called to go to another village. As he went on the way in the mountain with two brothers of his, and rode on an ass, lo, eleven goats, such as are called mountain-goats, came to pass before him. And from a distance he cried out, to make a test, saying to them: "By the prayer of Mar Simeon, be ye bound, that ye may not pass until I come to you." And they all collected and stood quiet until he came to them. And he dismounted from the ass and caught two or three of them, and put his hand upon their backs and stroked them, and they stood still. And he was astonished and marvelled. Then after a little while he said to them: "By the prayer of the holy Mar Simeon, cross over and go your way;" and thereupon they left him. Then he from fear and distress on account of what he had done felt something seize his heart and choke him. And he did not even enter his village but went back to the Saint, with a color like death, and entering fell down before him, and told all these things publicly, how the thing happened, with tears. Then when the Saint heard it, he said, "Lo, the beasts obey the word of God, but men resist his will." To the elder he said, "Take some of this water and throw it upon thy face and upon thy breast, in the name of Christ, and go fast three days and celebrate mass to God; and do not tempt the spirit of God, lest wrath come upon thee." Then he went away restored from his affliction.

(p. 565) Again, one time a fierce lion was seen on Mt. Ukkama ("Black Mountain") where a lion had never been seen before, and it devoured many people and made bitter havoc among men. For it ate and wounded many people without number, and travel was hindered. For no one dared to go outside the door of his house, nor go out to work, nor go on a journey, from fear. For in one day it was seen in

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<sup>1</sup> A cor = 11½ bushels.



many places. And the report of it spread into the cities, and the prefects also heard it. And they sent out many hunters, while the soldiers and Isaurians furnished spears and swords, but no one did him any harm. For he made light of many, and at his roaring a multitude of people trembled in fright. Now when a long time had elapsed, and he did not cease to slaughter many, numerous people assembled from the north and came and told the Saint, saying to him, "He enters among flocks and herds, but leaves the cattle and eats men." And when the holy master learned about his depredations and how many people he had destroyed, he said, "I have confidence in the Lord Jesus Christ that he will never harm the shape of man again. But take in the name of Christ some of this *hnana* and of this ointment, and wherever you see him, whether crouching or standing, make the sign of the cross on all sides of him. And lo, the Angel of the Lord will paralyze him." And our Lord showed his mercy manifestly. For while those men who had told him were going on their journey, he happened to be crouching (p. 566) before them. When he saw them, he sprang up as was his wont; and they on their part trembled as they saw him and were affrighted. But as he made ready to spring upon them, he swayed and tottered and sank down. Then again he arose, and again fell. Thereupon they perceived that he was smitten of the Lord, and one of them took a spear and approaching struck him in his heart and killed him. Then they skinned him, and came to the mandra of the blessed master, who for this thing also greatly praised and blessed our Lord. For the depredation had been severe and grievous.

Again after these things they brought to the Saint a certain elder from the north, who was prostrated with a severe and bitter affliction. For while he was sitting reading the scripture in the court of the church, on a sudden he saw that something was passing before him in the likeness of a mist; and the Evil One, the enemy of mankind, smote him upon his face, and threw him down upon the ground. And his sight left him, his reason fled, he became rigid like wood, all his limbs became impotent, and he could not speak. And they came in and found him stretched out like one dead. They picked him up and put him on a bed, and he was in that affliction nine years, while he uttered not a word, nor

knew any one. Neither could he turn over, unless some one turned him. When they heard about the Saint, they took him up to bring him on the couch to Mar Simeon. And when they arrived at Shih, a village which was distant from Telneshē three miles, they spent the night there, they who were carrying him, because of the great toil and from the weariness (p. 567) of the way, that they might rise early and go up to the Saint. But God who saw the faith and work of those who brought him, and the affliction and trouble of the elder, which had lasted all this long time, did not withhold from him the gift of mercy but performed loving-kindness with him openly. For as the Saint was standing praying, it was revealed to him by the spirit of God about the distress of the afflicted presbyter, and in what manner and by whose agency the disease had come upon him. So at midnight he summoned one of his attendants and said to him, "Take a little water in a vessel, and arise, go down to Shih. And in the court of the church thou wilt find a certain elder who is a paralytic, wasted, and bedridden. Throw some of this water on him and say to him: The sinner Simeon says, 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ leave thy couch in the church, and arise, walk, and come on thy feet. Long enough others have carried thee, henceforth the grace of thy Lord will strengthen thee.'" Then the attendant went down and found in the church, as he had said to him, that he was lying on his couch as though dead, in that great anguish. And as they saw the attendant, many people gathered about him, and in their presence he threw the water upon him, and as Mar Simeon had commanded him he said to him, "Mar Simeon the Blessed saith, 'Arise in the name of Christ, and walk thou on thy feet and come to me.'" And as soon as the water touched him, with the blessing by the mouth of the servant of God Mar Simeon, his diseases fled from him, he was recovered (p. 568) of his distress, and he came to his senses and saw the light,<sup>1</sup> and recovered his strength, and all his members grew strong and vigorous. He leapt to his feet from his couch, entirely well, and entering prayed in the church, praising and blessing God, who had shown such grace manifestly through the Saint. Then he went up afoot, accom-

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<sup>1</sup> I. e., recovered his sight.

panied by many people who blessed and praised God for the manifest miracle which their eyes had seen. For they saw him who had been bedridden, like an empty vessel which is useless, that as soon as the water touched him with the blessing of the mouth of the Holy One, he sprang up from his couch as though no injury or disease had ever touched him in his life. And when he went up and entered the mandra and prostrated himself before the Blessed One, he said to him, "Arise and fear not. For even if Satan hath sought to distress thee through his agents and the servants of his will, yet the mercies of God have been manifested upon thee, and he hath shown thee lovingkindness. And as for those through whom came upon thee the trouble, lo, thou art about to find them in affliction and distress, and they will beseech of thee and implore thee to forgive them. As God hath had mercy upon thee, so also do thou forgive the folly of those who wronged thee. Take a little *hnāna* and water, and anoint them, and God will have mercy upon them." Then the elder went, meanwhile rejoicing and praising and blessing our Lord, he and his companions, and found those his enemies in anguish and great trouble, as the Saint had said to him. But (p. 569) when he threw the water on them and anointed them with the *hnāna*, our Lord willed it, and they recovered. Then they arose and came to the Saint's mandra, and before him in a public manner each one confessed his folly. He commanded and warned them, and they too went away recovered, rejoicing and praising God.

Again, there came to him a certain poor man from the region of Halab, weeping in distress and grief of heart. When he entered, he prostrated himself before the Saint and said to him, "Master, I seek thine aid. I hired a field and made a cucumber garden in it, that I might provide from it for myself and the orphans whom I have. But when it began to grow, some men came by night and rooted up the entire field, leaving nothing in it except ten beans." And he brought some of them and threw them down before him. Thereupon the Saint said to him, "Arise and do not be grieved; for the savor of death strikes me from this affair. But take some of this *hnāna* and go make three signs of the cross in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in that field. And I have confidence in our Lord, that if there remains but three sprouts for thee

there, the Lord will bless them, and three times as much as you expected will be produced from them. As for those who did you this damage, quickly the judgment of God will overtake them. Because they dared to treat with contempt the longsuffering of God, therefore quickly his justice will lay them low. For there are three of them, and they have committed great injuries upon churches and monasteries, and caused grief to many. (p. 570) Now punishment is coming upon them which is incurable, and each punishment is distinctly separate from the others." And after three days a fearful judgment overtook them so that their agreement was shattered, they were humiliated, and their stiff necks broken. One of them was stricken with elephantiasis, until he was thoroughly diseased and putrid. Another, again, was swollen suddenly like a wine skin, and could not walk. They took him up to bring him to the Blessed One, and because he was unable to sit on an ass, as they were supporting him and he was creeping slowly along, he stumbled and fell, and his belly burst open, so that he died. And that other one, too, was smitten of an evil spirit, so that his mouth was contorted. He gnawed his tongue and arms and tore his garments. And bound in chains they brought him to the Saint. And after he was a long time in that affliction, they with difficulty persuaded the Blessed One in his behalf. Then he prayed for him, and he was restored a little, and came to himself and recounted before every one his acts of wickedness. When the Saint heard it, he said to him, "According to your deeds has God requited you. Because of this your punishment was without mercy."

Concerning visions and revelations which appeared from God to the Blessed Mar Simeon, no one is capable of telling about them, or speaking of them. He, too, was very careful and fearful lest any one should think of him as though he told them in ostentation. But to those in whom he had confidence from time to time (p. 571) he spoke openly, making it known to them that it was not his wish that they should tell them to the public while he was living.

He saw one time a ladder placed on the earth, whose top reached the heavens. Three men stood upon it, one at its top, one midway of it, and one at its foot. A throne of majesty was set, and our Lord Jesus Christ himself sat there, while the hosts of heaven stood on his right and on his left.

And a voice was heard calling by name that one who stood midway and saying to him, "Come up to me, and I will show thee." He went up until he came to him. And again a voice was heard which said, "This is Moses the great prophet, who received the law from God on Mount Sinai, and by whose hands miracles and signs were done. He became great in the sight of God and honored of all men, and another prophet like him did not arise in Israel after him. Thus also thou, if thou doest well and right, shalt be greater than all thy contemporaries. And as I was with Moses, so also will I be with thee." Then he gave him three keys. And the Blessed Mar Simeon turned around and saw that one who stood at the foot of the ladder, and said, "Lord, who is this?" And he heard a voice which said, "Call him and let him ascend and stand where thou art standing, for after thee he shall fill thy place." Then the saint called him three times, and he went up and stood where he was standing in the middle of the ladder.

Again, after these things, as he stood in prayer at noon, (p. 572) a vision appeared to him, marvellous and fearful. When he saw it he was afraid and trembled, alarmed, and covered his face with his cloak from fear. For he saw a chariot of fire with horses of flame and wheels of flame and reins of flashing rays, and its rug of blazing fire. A man sat upon it who came and stood before the saint as he was in the chariot, and said to him, "Be not afraid and be not affrighted, but be strong and valiant and brave, and of mortal man be not afraid. But rather above everything have care for the poor and the oppressed, and rebuke the oppressors and the rich. For lo, the Lord is thy helper, and there is no one who will harm or hurt thee. For thy name is written in the book of life, and a crown and honor are prepared for thee with all the Fathers, and with thy brethren the Apostles. For I am Elijah, he who in zeal shut up the heavens, and gave Ahab and Jezebel as food to the dogs, and slew the priests of Baal." When he said these things, he departed, mounting to heaven on the chariot. But the Blessed One was greatly astounded at this vision, while he thought and pondered: "Who are those poor about whom command was given? The cripples who go about begging? The oppressed? Or those who live in monasteries, who for the sake of God left their people and their possessions and rest upon the hope of our Lord?"

And when he had been many days thinking and pondering about this vision, while he stood and prayed there appeared to him Mar Elijah (p. 573) a second time in the chariot of fire. And he drew near and stood before the saint and answered and said to him, "On what account is thy mind disquieted? Concerning that which I commanded about the poor? Thou shalt care equally therefore for all men, for the poor, and the injured and the monks who dwell upon the hope of our Lord. Have a care also for the priests, the churches, and the laws of God which are established, and see that no man treat with contempt or despise the commands of the priest. Deliver the oppressed from their oppressors, rescue the burdened from those who crush them, and uphold the rights of orphans and widows. Be not afraid and do not tremble and do not be terrified, neither before kings nor judges. Do not show favoritism to the rich. But openly rebuke them, and be not afraid of them, because they are not able to harm thee, just as were unable to harm me Ahab and Jezebel, when I decreed death upon them and gave their bodies as food to the fowls of the heaven. Let not thy mind therefore be disturbed, but possess thyself in patience and endurance, and do not let bodily afflictions seem irksome to thee." When Mar Elijah had commanded him again these things, he departed from him in his chariot.

Thereupon the holy Mar Simeon, after these visions and commands, was strengthened and encouraged and given resolution and animated; so he added to his former labor tenfold, and made himself a mandra, (p. 574) standing openly day and night while every one gazed at him. He deprived himself of food, so that not even that small amount he had taken would he have allowed himself to take after these visions, had they not persuaded him to take from time to time. For as he thought of those two men who were for a sign in his vision, Moses and Elijah, he said, "Oh that one would teach me and show me by what manner of conduct those two men attained all this greatness and this excellent glory! By faith? or charity? or humility? or chastity? or zeal?" for he was greatly perplexed by that vision and by that dignity. Also he continually questioned those who were versed in Scripture, that he might learn from them about their course of life. Some told him that it was in humility, and some told him, in charity,

and some told him, in zeal. And it was not wearisome to that spiritual wisdom that it should humble itself to inquire even of the least. And when he learned from many about their courses of life, he began to adopt them for himself, immoderate fasting, standing day and night, continual prayer, persistent supplication, godly zeal which burned like a fire in him, bodily chastity with purity of his members. For what tongue is there that dare attempt the narration concerning this man, who while he was in the flesh exhibited among men the deeds and acts of the spirit? (p. 575) For he stood like a strong man, and was valiant like an athlete, and endured with fortitude all sufferings, and held in contempt all diseases, and lightly esteemed the Evil One and defeated Satan and scattered his hosts and put to nought his army, and received the crown of victory. For he publicly fastened his feet upon a pillar, clothed mysteriously with heavenly power. The fleshly body of his feet burst open from standing, but his whole mind was kindled for his Lord. The joints of his vertebræ were dislocated by continued supplication, but he strengthened his mind with love of Christ his Helper.<sup>1</sup>

He did not mind severe diseases of his body, for his mind was kindled towards his Lord all the time. He did not grow weary in distresses, and the billows which rolled over him all the time did not harm him, because his trust was stayed on his God. He was not afraid of his physical afflictions, and gave no enjoyment to his body even for one hour. His eyes were weak from vigils, but his mind was clear in the vision of his Lord. For he chose affliction rather than repose, trouble rather than rest, hunger rather than satiety. For he ardently desired that he might be in affliction in this world, for Christ's sake, that with him he might possess full enjoyment in the Holy City. For he endured such suffering, that neither among the ancients nor the moderns could be found any who had suffered as he did. For what body is there, or what limbs, that could endure with fortitude in such a manner? (p. 576) For he stood forty years upon a pillar which was about a cubit in width. And his feet were bound and fettered as though in the stocks, so that neither to right nor left was he able to shift one of them, until even the bones and sinews of his

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<sup>1</sup> There is a play on words in the Syriac.

feet were visible, from suffering. Also, his belly burst open from standing. And so his disciples used to say that the suffering of his belly was more severe than of his feet. Three of the joints of his spine were dislocated from that constant supplication with which he was bowing and lifting himself up straight again before his Lord, until he had completed his discipline. Also he lost his eye-sight forty days together while he stood upon the pillar, from fasting and vigil beyond measure. But no one knew it except his disciples. For his eyes were open and he talked with everyone, but he could not see. And when our Lord willed, and he completed the forty days, suddenly his sight was restored. And no stranger knew either that it was lost or restored, because he commanded his disciples that they should not tell any one. These sufferings therefore he endured, the brave athlete. For he stood valiantly against the heat of the sun in summer, and against the severity of the cold in winter. Therefore the sun (p. 577) was like a crucible and that saint like gold. The fire therefore lowered its temperature, the furnace of testing grew cool, and the athlete of God came off victorious. For it says in Scripture, "Who can stand before his cold?"<sup>1</sup> For the north wind came with its snow, and the west with its ice, and the east with its gale, and the south with its sultriness; all of them combined together, accompanied also by heavy rain, and joined war with the wise master-builder who had built his house upon the rock. But the wind grew calm, the ice melted, and the rain was absorbed, and the Blessed One came off victor.

Who then is not astonished that he with his feet burst open, and his belly too, stood day and night! Wounded in body like Job, he was revived spiritually like him. For Job lay upon the dung heap, yet his prayer went up on high. Thus also the Blessed Mar Simeon, his feet fastened upon the pillar, but his prayer free and well-pleasing to his God. Then the illustrious Mar Simeon was slandered by Satan, like Job, before God, when he said, "Give me power over him, that I may enter into contest with him as I please." And when he received power over him on one of those days as he stood praying, a severe disease smote him in his left foot. While he was wishing for the evening to come, it was filled with ulcers; and

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<sup>1</sup> Ps. 147,17.



when the next day dawned, it burst and emitted foul odor and was alive with maggots. Matter and a disgusting smell came from the foot, and maggots (p. 578) fell out of it upon the ground. So powerful and bad was the stench that not even half way up the ladder could one ascend except with distress. Some of his disciples who forced themselves to go up to him could not ascend until after they had put on their noses incense and fragrant ointment. He suffered this way nine months until nothing was left of him except the breath only. And the report of his affliction was heard everywhere, even reaching kings. Bishops and perieutes and many people came and tried to persuade him either to come down from the pillar until his disease was cured, or to take off one section from it, that it might be easier for a physician to go up to him and apply remedies to him; but he did not yield to persuasion. Even the victorious king Theodosius with his sisters sent bishops to him for the sake of this, that they might persuade him to come down a little while. But the Blessed One, as became him, dismissed the bishops skilfully by saying, "You, indeed, pray for me. And I have confidence in my Lord Jesus Christ whom I serve, that he will not allow his servant to be humiliated to such a degree that he should come down from his position. For he knoweth how his worshipper hath entrusted himself to him, and he will not let me need physicians and herbs and medicines."

(p. 579) When eight months were completed lacking twenty days, and the disease was gaining so much the more strength, and the trouble growing worse, and it was now the beginning of Lent, when he was accustomed to shut the door, the priests of the villages and many people gathered in order to persuade him that he should not close the door of the enclosure, lest he should happen to depart from the world in this trouble and they be deprived of his blessing. But the Saint said to them, "Far be it from me, all the days of my life, that I should break the vow I have made to my God. But what is mine to do I will do, and what rests with him his will shall accomplish. For whether I die or live, I am his."

When the door of the enclosure was shut and he had been in that affliction three days, his disciples thought the time of his departure was at hand, because he had entirely wasted away and nothing remained of him but his skeleton, and he

was not able to speak. Being greatly grieved, they began to beseech and implore of him that he would bless them and commend them to our Lord. Thereupon the Saint, seeing them grieved and weeping, exerted himself and talked with them with much suffering, and comforted and consoled them and said to them, "Be not troubled. For I trust our Lord, whom I serve, that he will shortly give me deliverance."

And when he had been in seclusion thirty eight days, in the night between the third day of the week and the fourth, (p. 580) in that week in which the door of the mandra was opened, at midnight suddenly there was something like lighting, and the whole cell was lighted up by it. And there appeared to him in the likeness of a youth a beautiful one clothed in white, who stood before the Blessed One between earth and heaven. And he answered and said to him, "Fear not, but be strong and of good courage. For, lo, thy discipline is ended, thy slanderer put to shame, and thy crown prepared in heaven." And as he talked with him, he stretched out his hand and touched him on that foot of his from which he was suffering. At once the disease fled from it, his pain ceased, his body was invigorated, his countenance grew radiant, his face shone, he recovered his speech, and that foul disagreeable odor passed away. And when his disciples arose early to go up to him, they found him rejoicing and serene and praising our Lord. As though our Lord had made known to him what was about to happen, he had sent away the two of them when it was evening and had not permitted them to remain with him as usual. When therefore they arose early and saw him in such a radiant condition, and saw that his mind was calm and that the foul odor was turned to sweet fragrance, they begged and implored him to tell them how that disease was cured. And especially John his disciple urged him, because he loved him greatly and was constantly with him. And when he had urged him much, he pledged them not to tell anyone during his life-time. Thereupon he told them how he was healed and what was said to him (p. 581) in that vision. For it was made known to him what was about to happen, and this he revealed to no one. But he was praying and groaning that he might depart from the world before that sign which was manifested to him should be fulfilled.

After the door of the mandra was opened, there assembled

and came to him the bishops and elders and many people, and they saw him well and cheerful and seeking mercies from God. Then the good Mar Domnus,<sup>1</sup> the Bishop of Antioch, went up with the disciple of the Saint and gave him the eucharist. Then every one went away to his own place in peace, and the athlete continued in his ascetic practice, rejoicing and praising God.

But in one of those times a certain man who was a counsellor seized the power that he might govern the city of Antioch. And he was a man evil and wicked, who oppressed and plundered many, but especially those who dyed skins red. He imposed upon them three times as much taxes as they had given in any year. So they came and informed the Saint; now they were about three hundred men; and they fell down before him. And when the Saint knew, he sent word to him, "This evil should not come through thee, that thou shouldst impose this burden upon these poor people and they should be required to bear it for ever. But be merciful to them and tax them as they were formerly accustomed to be taxed." But he in his pride and stubbornness made answer to the one who was sent to him, "Go say to Simeon who sent thee, Give them thyself some of the gold (p. 582) which thou hast collected. For I, if I seize them, will imprison them, and not a thing will be left to them." And when the saint learned these things, he lifted his eyes to heaven and said, "Lord, thou knowest that from the day I became a monk I have not taken for myself a coin,<sup>2</sup> and do not possess a thing except these skins with which I am clad; and lo, before God I am giving an account. But as for those who are thinking these things about me, Lord, forgive them." After three days the appointed judgment overtook the wicked one, and an incurable disease devoured him. His belly swelled up like a wineskin, even while those poor people were in the mandra.

Being in anguish, he wrote letters to the priests of some villages of his, that they should go up to beseech the Blessed One on his behalf. He also spent much money upon drugs and physicians, but no one could give him any help. And when those priests went up, and besought him much in his

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<sup>1</sup> Ms., DomnIn.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, "the image of a mortal king".

behalf, the Saint said to them, "Take some of this water and go. If God knows that when he is healed he will turn away from his evil deeds, mercy will be shown him and he will recover. But if he would continue in his wickedness, he will never see this water at all."

Taking the water they went, and as they arrived at the door of his dwelling, he asked that he might be turned over in his bed, whereupon on a sudden his belly burst open, and his bowels gushed out so that he died. So he did not see that water at all, according to the word of the Saint. And there was fear (p. 583) upon many, and the oppressed were delivered, and our Lord was glorified through his worshipper.

Again, there was a tribune of the empress in the north in the land of Nicopolis, who lived wickedly. He plundered and oppressed many and robbed orphans and widows of their substance, and the judgment of God was not before his eyes. They came and made it known to the Saint about his evil deeds. He sent a message to him: "Turn away from these deeds of which I hear concerning thee, and do not take by robbery that which is not thine, lest thou lose even that which is thine." But he, impious, in his pride and arrogance was not satisfied to reject the word of the Saint, but seized him who was sent to him and heaped many insults upon him, saying to him, "Go show him who sent thee." That very day he was smitten with disease for which there was no cure, and withered up like wood, and a word never again went out of his mouth, except this which he said, "Mar Simeon, have pity upon me," and immediately he expired. And they brought him and buried him, even while he who had been sent to him from the Saint was there.

One time it was rumored that men were murmuring because he wrote letters of persuasion to them in behalf of the poor and oppressed and orphans and widows who were treated with violence. (p. 584) And the Saint was troubled in his mind and said, "Sufficient for me is God, who knows that for the sake of helping their souls I persuade them to do good works. But henceforth, since this annoys them, I give the affair into the hands of God." So he commanded his disciples, and said to them, "Do not send anything to anyone, nor receive a thing from those who bring gifts, until I see what the will of God is." And after three months, in which the oppressed came

there and no one listened to them, and others brought alms which no one received from them, so that both parties went away grieved, there appeared to the Saint a wonderful and fearful vision. As he prayed at midnight he saw two men whose aspect was very pleasant, and many people were with them. One of them accused the Saint and said to him, "These are the commands which were enjoined upon thee: that thou shouldst be patient and longsuffering<sup>1</sup> towards everyone, and so shouldst prosper and succeed. But thou—instead of this thou hast been impatient, and in the little while that humanity has pressed upon thee, whom I sent to thee, thou hast grown tired of them and hast restrained thyself from sending out a word in behalf of the oppressed and sorrowful and persecuted. Besides thou hast not received thankofferings from those who brought them in recognition of the saving of their lives. But since this is thy choice, I will take away from thee those keys which I gave thee, and another will receive them; and do thou continue as thou art."

(p. 585) But the other one, when he saw how greatly chagrined the Saint was, made entreaty for him and said, "I will pledge for him that he will do everything thou commandest him." And he approached and said to the Blessed One, "It is thine to say, and thy Lord knows what he will do."

Just after this vision there came to the Blessed One two youths, sons of a certain man who was a friend of the Saint, and made known to him that a certain Comes in Antioch, a wicked man, who held the government of the East, was making great misery for them in that he was seeking to bring them into the council, because of the enmity he had against their father, and so was trying to take revenge.<sup>2</sup> When the Saint learned it, he sent word to that wicked one, "Do not harass and vex those boys, because they are mine." But he, vile one, in mockery sent back word to the Blessed One: "If thou dost command me, I will carry filth after them and like a slave will wait on them." When that wicked man heard that the

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 510.

<sup>2</sup> The reason why the young men wished to escape office was because higher municipal officials were so weighted with heavy expenses that it often ruined their fortunes. Hence they represented the governor's act as a piece of vindictiveness. (Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 217.)

door of the mandra was closed for the fast of forty days, he saw the boys as they entered the city, and seized them, taking from them pledges that they would enter and attend upon the council. They then sent their guardians with a certain attendant who was attached to them, who went and told the Saint these things. He sent word to him a second time: "I have said to thee, Keep thyself (p. 586) from those boys and do not harass them, lest harm befall thee, and no one will be able to give thee aid." But that wicked and evil Pharaoh the second, in his pride and arrogance, could not conceal the deceit that lurked in his mind but showed his wickedness openly, and in the presence of his retinue said to the one who was sent to him from the Saint: "Go say to Simeon who sent thee, 'I hear that thou art shutting thyself up for forty days, and no one will enter thy dwelling or bother thee in that time. But take the trouble to curse me roundly during those days, for I do not desire that any of thy prayer should be inflicted on me.'" Which did indeed happen to him. The fool did not know that the justice of the Lord was already standing over him. When the Saint heard this from the one who was sent, he shook his head and laughed softly to himself and said, "The simpleton! he hath sent word that all the forty days we should concern ourselves with him, and desist from the prayer in which we entreat God for our sins and for every creature; before one breath of the justice of the Lord can he stand? As for us, we counseled him that thing which we knew to be for his advantage. Since then he hath chosen for himself the curse rather than the blessing, the thing which he asketh from the Lord he will quickly grant him." The Saint closed the door of his cell on the first day of the week, and one day only remained that vile one at peace; then a destined fearful judgment such as befitted his deeds overtook him. For they accused him before the king and the governor, when he was not aware, because of the wickedness which he did and because he (p. 587) harassed many. So five officers were sent after him, whose minds were more malignantly cruel than his. And on the third day of the week, in that first week of Lent, they seized him publicly in the forum as he was passing along in state. And they dragged him down from his chariot with great violence and unbelted him and, tearing off his toga from him, cast a rope about his feet and dragged him headlong, and so

drew him along in a most unmerciful manner, because his humiliation was from the Lord. Then they threw him into irons, as had been commanded them. Thereupon he sent and had those boys brought, against whom he had stood, and entreated them, saying, "Go beseech the Saint to write to the king in my behalf. For I know that all this has befallen me because I treated his command with contempt." But they replied, "The Blessed One has closed the door of his cell, and is talking with no one except his Lord in prayer. But if the door of his cell were opened and he heard, then he would write to the king and the governor. For Mar Simeon is as compassionate as his Lord." Then they led him away and brought him up with insulting treatment into all the cities on the route, and when they entered the royal city, there also he experienced great insult, all his property was plundered, and he was sent into exile. And as he was going on the way, he died a grievous death. So that curse which he had asked for followed him even to the day of his death.

Again, after the door of the Saint's cell was opened, (p. 588) there came there many people from the region of Aphshon, who made known to him about those large fieldmice and arnogs<sup>1</sup> which were lacerating live sheep and eating their entrails so that they died. They even leaped<sup>2</sup> upon the oxen and cattle, whereupon the animals would run until they were exhausted and fell; then they ate them. They had a way of grunting like swine, and would not flee from the presence of a man. Moreover they ventured up to small children and followed after them like dogs. And when the Saint heard, he was amazed and astounded, and marvelled and said, "No one can stand before the abominable vermin if it is given power; before the justice of the Lord who can stand?" But as they greatly besought him with tears and groans, he said to them, "Take some of this *hnāna* in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and make in every house three crosses, and on the four sides of every village make the sign of the cross; then keep vigil there and observe the eucharist three days and entreat our Lord. I have confidence in God whom I worship, that on the third day not even one will be found there." So they went

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<sup>1</sup> A kind of large mouse or rat.

<sup>2</sup> Read *siase* in place of *siase*.

and did as he said to them, and on the third day no one knew what had happened to them, but it was as though the earth had opened its mouth and swallowed them up. And they turned away and went to their homes, praising our Lord who had shown lovingkindness to them.

(p. 589) Again, there came to the holy Saint many people from Lebanon, who told him about some evil creatures which went out in all Mount Lebanon and were ravaging and attacking men and devouring them. And lamentations and mournings were resounding in all the mountain, for there was not a village there in which there had not been at least two or three people eaten every day. And sometimes, forsooth, they appeared as women whose hair was shaved, wandering about lamenting; and sometimes again as beasts. And they even entered into houses and seized people, and snatched infants from their mothers' breasts, and ate them before them, while they stood and looked on at their sucklings, unable to succour their own children, so that there was mourning and lamentation. Absolutely no one was able to go out to the field unless many went together armed with swords and staves. Not even under those circumstances would they get out of a man's way, except for a little way, and then again they would turn back into their tracks. And when the holy Saint heard these things, he said to them, "God has rewarded you according to your deeds. For ye have forsaken him who made you in his goodness and feeds and cares for you in his mercy, and ye have taken refuge in dumb idols which have no profit in them, which do neither good nor evil. On this account God has delivered you over to the evil animals, which have taken vengeance on you. Go call now on those idols which ye worship; let them be your protectors and drive away from you this wrath which is sent upon you (p. 590) from God." But they entered and prostrated themselves before his pillar with loud outcries; also many people who happened to be present implored him in their behalf. When the Saint saw how they were prostrated and supplicating, and that people besides were weeping and entreating, for their story was fit to bring tears, because their affliction was without mercy (for parents saw their children eaten up before them, and their limbs torn to pieces, and their corpses dragged away, and they could not help them), he said to them: "If indeed ye forsake that error which possesses you,



and turn to God your Creator and make a covenant that ye will be Christians and will receive baptism, then I will entreat the God whom I serve, that he may have mercy upon you and remove from you this rod of wrath which has come upon you." And they all out of the agony of their hearts cried out as though with one mouth and said, "If thou prayest for us and this rod of wrath passeth away from us, we will covenant ourselves and bind ourselves in writing before thy holiness, that we will be Christians and receive baptism, and renounce idols and break down their shrines and smash their images. Only let this scourge pass away from us." And when the holy master saw that they repented with all their heart, he said to them, "Take some of this *hnāna* (p. 591) in the name of Christ, and go, and on the borders of each village set up four stones; and if there are elders there, call them, and upon each stone make three signs of the cross, and keep vigil there three days. Then ye shall see the sign which God will do, because never again will they destroy the likeness of man there." Which thing God did really do. For they went and found that from that very time when the Saint prayed, not one of them ever again entered a village, neither had power to hurt a man; but they went and came in the fields, but did not enter the villages, and were not molesting<sup>1</sup> any one. For as though the command of heaven was upon them, thus they seemed. And after they went and did as the holy master said to them, there was there a great sign and marvellous wonder. For there came from all that region men, women, and children without number, and receiving baptism they became Christians and turned to God from that vain superstition. And they told before him: "After we went and set up those stones and made the sign of the cross upon them, as thy holiness commanded, and those three days of vigil passed away, we saw, forsooth, those animals going and coming and walking around those stones and howling; and their howling was loud upon the mountain. Then some of them fell down and burst open as they stood beside those stones, and some of them, again, went away howling. And, forsooth, by night their howls (p. 592) were heard like the sound of women wailing and crying out and saying, 'Woe upon thee, Simeon, what hast thou done to us!'" And they brought

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<sup>1</sup> Reading *ḥḥḥḥ* instead of *ḥḥḥ*.

with them the pelts of three of them, and they hung on the door of the mandra a long time. And those skins were not like leopards', nor bears', but the colors were various. They continued about ten days in that howling and wailing, and some died, and of the rest not even one could be found by searching. And the people of that region, after they received baptism and became Christians, remained in the mandra of the Saint about one week; then they went away to their houses rejoicing and praising and blessing God, who had shown loving-kindness to them. And from that time they failed not to come and go to the Saint and receive baptism, they and their children. And this was for the advantage and wellbeing of their souls.<sup>1</sup>

Again, there was a large spring in the vicinity of Ganadris in a certain village, which watered many fields. And suddenly it failed and dried up and ceased its flow, so that the trees withered and whatever was sown by them among their water-courses completely failed. And they fetched workmen who digged and dived, but all to no purpose. Then at last they were compelled to come and tell him concerning what they had done. For the Saint had issued an order that on the first day of the week no workman should work until the evening. But one of them dared to go irrigate (p. 593) on the first day of the week, at dawn, and when they saw it, instead of stopping him or hindering him, as though the thing pleased them they all scattered, went out and left the church, and each one of them went to his own quarter to irrigate. And after evening came on they left the fountain full and gushing. Then they arose early in the morning seeking in it at least one drop of water, but there was none. And this from which they had drunk on the first day of the week was hot and dry as though a fire smouldered in it. And when they saw, they smote their faces with their hands, because of what had happened to them in their presumption. So when they had toiled and employed every device, and no help came from any quarter, they were compelled to come and tell the Saint. As soon as he heard their confused stories, he knew and understood and said to them, "This appears to me to be a case of law-breaking."

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<sup>1</sup> The Maronites are probably descendants of these converts who embraced Christianity after Simeon's intercession had, as they believed, freed them from the ravages of wild beasts (Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History* p. 220).

Seeing that they were detected, they told him the affair just as it really was and as it happened. And when the Saint knew, he was exceedingly enraged at them and scolded them severely, and ordered that they drive them out of his presence with violence and blows. For he was blazing like fire with zeal for his Lord. And when they went out from him, they cast themselves down and fell prostrate by the outer door of the mandra, and lay three days beseeching and imploring everyone who entered or went out that he would try to persuade the Saint for them. (p. 594) And their elder went and brought elders and other periodontes and tried to persuade his Holiness. He learned that they had indeed been at the door three days, and his compassion was manifested upon them, and he gave commandment, and they entered his presence. Then he said to them, "I advise you for your own salvation. For neither gold nor silver am I seeking for you, but your souls, that I may establish them before God in confidence." And when they entered, they confessed their folly and made an agreement in writing that they would never do the like of this again. He said to them, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ take three chips and make upon them crosses and throw them into the fountain where it springs out. And take *hnāna* and make three signs of the cross on this side and on that; then go in, keep vigil in the church. At dawn, arise, see what our Lord has done." So they went and did as he said to them, and arose at dawn and found the fields all overflowed and the fountain full and spouting forth three times as much as formerly. Then they all came in a crowd; and, praising and blessing God who did this lovingkindness for them, they went away in peace rejoicing.

These things, then, and more than these our Lord performed through the saint Mar Simeon. For what mouth can speak or tell about the signs and heroic exploits which our Lord did through him, not only in the neighborhood but also at a distance, both on sea and (p. 595) among the heathen and among Magi who worship fire and water. And really, I think, in the case of the Saint was fulfilled that which our Lord spoke in his Gospel: "Those who believe in me, the works that I do shall they do."<sup>1</sup> For it is written concerning Simon Peter,<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Jo. 14, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 5, 15.

that his shadow as he passed by overshadowed the sick and they were healed, and it fell upon such as were very ill and they recovered. And again<sup>1</sup> concerning the apostle Paul, that his girdle or his handkerchief they took and, going, put upon such as were smitten by the Enemy, and they recovered; and upon the sick who were ill of obstinate diseases, and they were delivered from their afflictions. But Mar Simeon the Blessed, while he was indeed their spiritual brother and disciple, greatly admiring their labors and following in their footsteps, with his soul exulting every time he heard of their heroic deeds, yet was one whose measure extended very far above that of all other men. For he did not walk upon the earth that his shadow might fall upon any one, nor was aught of his clothing sent to the sick at any place; but only words of prayer proceeded out of his mouth and went to far-away places, and his Lord wrought healing and recovery.

About those things which I said that our Lord did through him and through his prayer in distant places and on the sea and among the heathen, a little from much we will narrate. For they are many; and who is able to speak or tell about them? The treasury of Christians is a great ocean (p. 596) whose breadth is immeasurable and its depth unfathomable. For as one who fills a bottle from the ocean or takes a spoonful out of the Euphrates or lifts up a grain from the sand, without diminishing their quantity or lessening their number; thus also whoever draws out and takes, is satisfied with the gift of the spirit which the servants of God receive from their Lord. For He is rich, and they suffer no poverty. For, few of the many heroic acts of the faithful are written, for the benefit of humanity, and as the ear can receive. For they resemble their Lord in their activities, who follow in the footsteps of their Lord, him of whom said the Evangelist in wonder and astonishment, as he saw the deeds and works of his unnumbered mercies, which can not be reckoned up: "If one by one were written those things which did our Lord Jesus Christ, the world would not contain the books which should be written."<sup>2</sup> As for the holy Mar Simeon, then, since your ear loves to hear of his illustrious deeds, and more sweet to you than honey to those who eat it is the story of the beauti-

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<sup>1</sup> Acts 19, 12.<sup>2</sup> Jo. 21, 25.

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ful deeds which our Lord did through his athlete; little from much, dear Sir, from the treasury of the splendid acts of the Blessed One we are telling before you—those things which we saw with our eyes and handled with our hands; and these also which happened at a distance, and were written by faithful men to the saint.

For there came to him Antiochus bar Sabinus, made prefect of Damascus, and said to his Holiness before every one (p. 597): "Naaman came up to that desert which is near Damascus, and made a feast and invited me. For at that time there was not yet enmity between him and the Romans. While we were sitting at meat, he introduced the subject of Mar Simeon and said to me, 'This one whom you call Mar Simeon, is he a god?' And I said to him, 'No, he is not a god, but he is the servant of God.' Again Naaman said to me, 'When the report about Mar Simeon was heard among us, and some of our Arabs began to go up to him, some chiefs of my camp came and said to me, "If thou allowest them to go up to him, they are going to be Christians and will follow the Romans and rebel against thee and leave thee." Then I sent and called together all my camp and said to them, "If any one dares to go up to Mar Simeon, I will take off his head and the heads of all his tribe, with the sword." When I had spoken and commanded them and had let them go, at midnight as I lay in the tent I saw a certain man of splendid appearance, the like of whom I had not seen; and there were five others with him. When I saw him, my heart failed, and my knees quaked, and I fell down and worshipped him. But he indignantly returned a severe answer to me, saying, "Who art thou, that thou dost restrain the people of God from the house of God's servant?" Then he commanded those four, and they stretched me out by my hands and feet, and that other one (p. 598) gave me a severe and cruel beating. There was no one to rescue me from his hands, until he had compassion upon me and gave command; whereupon they released me. Then he drew the sword which he was carrying and showed it to me and swore to me with solemn oaths, "If again thou darest to hinder even one person from prayer in the house of Mar Simeon, with this sword I will cut off thy limbs and those of all thy tribe." I arose in the morning and assembled all the tribe and said to them, "Whoever wishes to go up to the house of

Mar Simeon and there receive baptism and be a Christian, let him go safely and without fear.'” And moreover Naaman said to me, ‘If I were not a subject of the King of Persia, I also would go up to him and would be a Christian. By reason of that fright and beating, for more than a month I was unable to rise and go out of doors. And lo, I commanded, and there are churches, bishops, and elders in my camp. And I said, “Whoever wishes to be a Christian, may be without fear. And whoever desires to be a heathen, this again is his privilege.”’ And everyone who heard as it was told, gave glory to God, who was so enlarging the fame of his worshippers everywhere.

Again, a certain Magian among the Persians, chief of all the Magi, even he who was chief of all that wickedness, entered the presence of that one who was called “King of Kings”, and power was given to him over the Christians, whom they called Nazarenes, that he might oppress and beat and imprison and chastise them as (p. 599) he pleased, in order to make them renounce their religion. Those who stood steadfast and did not apostatize, he had power to send out of the world by cruel tortures and painful deaths. And when this wicked and vile one received the power over the flock of Christ, like a shameless wolf without mercy, the enemy of the Lord<sup>1</sup> seized and bound and flogged and beat many people, men and women, elders and monks, and laymen besides, not a few, them and their wives and their children, and inflicted many torments upon them and passed sentences of torments of all kinds, like a man who did not have the judgment of God before his eyes; and the wicked one knew not that the just judgment of the Most High would quickly overtake him. For after he had tortured them as he pleased, with all tortures and torments, he seized and bound about three hundred and fifty of them, and threw on them irons and chains and fetters, and imprisoned them all together in a dark house. Then he set guards over them, so that no one should give them bread or water, but that thus they might die of hunger and thirst. But after they had been in this misery about ten days and there was no one to have compassion on them and deliver them, as they prayed they said in prayer, “O God, to whom all these things are

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<sup>1</sup> Lit., “the son of the left hand”.

easy, at the prayers of Mar Simeon thy worshipper, according to thy divine pleasure, let there be deliverance to the souls that take refuge in thee. And let not these vile heathen say, 'The Christians have no God.'" (p. 600) While they prayed and all together made supplication, at midnight our Lord did a great miracle before them. The Saint appeared to them, standing on the pillar, and stood among them, and a great light was with him, and blazing torches, and he was clothed in white skins, and his face seemed like lightning, and he said to them, "Peace be with you, my brethren. I am Simeon, your brother, he who stands upon the pillar in the land of the Romans." Then he descended and greeted them and said to them, "Be strengthened and of good courage, neither let your minds be affrighted nor your hearts be troubled. For lo, your trial is ended, and your crown is prepared and kept in heaven before your Lord. You have two days more to be here; then on the third day you shall be released and go out in honor and triumph, and persecution shall cease and stop from the people of God, and his church. Even to-day a fearful judgment will overtake your enemy, and an affliction without mercy smite him. As he is exalted so shall he be humbled, and all the East be aware of his stroke." Having spoken thus to them, again he was found standing on the pillar in the same manner in which he entered among them, and he floated away vanishing from their midst. But their great misery was alleviated after they had seen the Blessed One, so that indeed they were thinking that they were not even in prison.

But he, the illustrious Mar Simeon, went to that impious one in fearful apparition (p. 601) and indignant countenance, as he stood on his pillar, and there were with him torches like lightning. And when the wicked one saw him, his heart trembled and his knees shook, and his spinal joints were loosened, and his color turned to pallor, and he was like a dead man. He talked to him indignantly and terribly, and said to him, "Most vile and abominable of all men, art thou trying to oppose thyself to the name of the Lord God, and hast thou received authority over his servants, to oppress and scourge, and compel them to apostatize? Lo, now, quickly will overtake thee the justice of the Almighty; and who will be able to deliver thee or set thee loose from His hands?" When he had spoken to him these angry words, on a sudden

there was something like a flash of lightning, and it smote that evil man so that it threw him down on his face. And a raging fire was kindled in him, and his whole body burned, and the smell of his burning went a great distance. Then Mar Simeon said to him, "These documents which thou hast received from the king, send back to him. And send him word, 'Thus saith Mar Simeon, who standeth on a pillar in the land of the Romans, If thou dost not send and fetch out all the servants of God who are in prison, and let persecution of the church of Christ cease and come to a stop at thy command and through thy written documents'—, then I will bring upon him after three days something more severe than this judgment of thine." And when the holy Saint had said these things to him, he was taken up and ascended from his presence. (p. 602) As for the wicked man, he fell down crying out with shrieks because of that judgment, severe and bitter, which had seized him. At the sound of his howling many people collected, and when they saw him in that severe merciless pain, they quaked and feared. And when they asked him what had happened to him, he said to them, "Simeon, that Christian who stands on a pillar in the land of the Romans, has treated me thus, because I persecuted the adherents of his faith. He said to me, moreover, 'Thou worshippingest the fire, so in the fire will I burn thee; we will see if it will come to thine aid.' He commanded me, too, that those documents which I received from the King concerning the Christians, I should send back to him, and send him word, 'Command that all the Christians who are persecuted and imprisoned be released.' And thus he said to me, 'Unless he shall give orders and they go out inside of two days, and there be peace upon the Christians' church, a judgment more cruel and painful than this of thine I will bring upon him.'" And he who is called "King of Kings", when he received the letters and learned from several people about the suffering and pain, cruel and severe, of that impious one, immediately issued orders, and all the incarcerated Christians were set at liberty, and the churches also that had been closed were opened. A manifesto was issued and posted in villages and cities of the Nazarenes, that no one should say a harmful word to them; but they should practice their worship according to former custom, without let or hindrance.



And bishops and elders who were far away and were not aware of what had happened, (p. 603) when they saw that on a sudden the command had gone forth, were astonished. And when those who had been imprisoned were released and had gone forth with great honor, and they learned from them how the Saint had appeared to them, and how he talked with them, and that all he said to them had proven true and had been realized, and they heard also of the affliction and severe judgment of that vile and wicked man, they praised and blessed God. And being all assembled together, they recorded the facts in writing and sent it to the Saint by three elders from that place; and it was read many times before them. They were with the Saint two weeks; then they returned to their home blessing and praising God. But the wicked man was in that distress, tormented with fire and consumed by worms, about ten days. Thus he died a death evil and distressing, and there was fear and terror upon all who beheld it. On account of it many turned to the fear of God, and becoming Christians received baptism.

And again, on the sea many times the Saint appeared manifestly to many sailors and helped them in their distresses in the time of danger, when storms and tempests arose against them. And they came and told him how they saw him plainly in the time when they were in peril, when immediately, as soon as he appeared, the sea grew calm, the waves were stilled, (p. 604) and the tempests were quieted. The Saint was much concerned, moreover, for the affairs of those who sail on the sea.

Now one time it happened that a certain large ship was going down from Arabia from the upper district, and there were in it many people both men and women who were going down to their homes in Syria. Having embarked, they had gone half the journey, when the waves became stirred up, a violent wind raged, darkness fell upon them, and the ship was near to capsizing. For they would mount up to the sky, as it is written (Ps. 107:2, 3, 6), and would descend into the abyss. And as they cried out and were distressed and supplicated with tears and groans, and there was no help nor deliverance from any quarter, every one covered himself and fell upon his face, that he might not see death approaching. For they felt sure that they should never see dry

land again, especially because they saw a man who was black and looked like an Indian,<sup>1</sup> who came and stood on the top of the mast which stood amidships. For it was said of him that every time he was seen in a ship he sank her. When every one had given up hope of his life and believed he would die, and prostrate and wailing they had covered their faces, there was a man there from the village Aṭma, which is beside Āmēs,<sup>2</sup> who had with him a little of the Saint's *hnāna*. And our Lord willed and put it in his mind that he might show a miracle by his worshipper (p. 605) and give deliverance to those endangered souls by the hand of his believer. So he recollected, and standing up and taking that *hnāna*, he made the sign of the cross with it on the mast which stood amidships, and rubbed handfuls of it on both sides of the ship while all the prostrate people cried out, "Mar Simeon, entreat thy Lord and help us by thy prayers!" Immediately the Saint appeared, holding a scourge in his right hand. And he went up and stood on the top of the mast and seized the Indian<sup>3</sup> by his hair and held him out and whipped him with the scourge, while the sound of his howling echoed over all the sea. And when he had scourged him severely and let him go, he fled still howling, as though many were pursuing him. And as he fled, thus he cried: "Woe to thee, Simeon! It is not enough for thee that thou dost banish me from the land, but lo, from the sea as well thou art driving me. Now where shall I go?" And from the time the Saint appeared to them, the waves were calm, the tempest ceased, the air was clear, and the sea was quiet from its commotion. The Saint said to them, "Fear not, for you shall suffer no harm"; then he vanished from them. And from that time the wind was fair for them, and they proceeded on their voyage quietly without fear, until, our Lord willing, they entered the haven. And many clave to the one from Aṭma and came to the mandra of the Saint, where they recounted those things before him (p. 606) and before everybody. And every one who heard it blessed God, who had shown lovingkindness to them and saved them at the prayer of his believer.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Indian" here means Ethiopian (negro), as often.

<sup>2</sup> Assemani's text has "Amid".

<sup>3</sup> See above.

<sup>4</sup> The old popular superstition about the demon of the storm and the

Again, another ship was in port in Cyprus, loaded and full of much cargo, ready to sail to the west with many passengers and sailors on board, and some who were about to go up for trade; when suddenly a whirlwind came on, it grew dark, and the wind blew a gale, and entering into the ship, like the whirlwind which it was, lifted it from among its fellows, and it went up spinning around as far as the eye could see, like a stone slung by an engine; those who were in it wailing, and those outside of it crying out for help. It was indeed matter for groans and tears. For if it came down in the sea, it would sink and never be seen again. And if, on the other hand, it fell outside on the land, it would be broken to shivers, and all the people who were in it would be killed. When they saw that it was all up with them, and help there was none unless the mercy of God willed it, they began to cry out and pray, saying, "Oh, Saint Simeon, help us by thy prayers!" And lo, once more, immediately the Saint appeared, standing beside the ship and encouraging those who were in it. And stretching out his right hand he seized hold of the ship and thus safely and gently brought her down, and drawing her along brought her and set her upright in the sea just inside the harbor, as one would take hold of a light thing. And the ship received not a particle of damage, (p. 607) and neither did the people in her. And when the ship came down and was standing in her place, those disturbances and whirlwinds became quiet. Many saw the Saint, besides those who were on board the ship. And they told it before everyone, how he encouraged them as he stood by them. And all who saw and heard those things which were told gave glory to God.

And when the master of the ship saw this great miracle which was performed, he took five of the sailors who were on board the ship, and came to the holy Saint, to whom they recounted those things before everyone. He said to him, moreover, "If thy Holiness commands me to journey by sea, at thy command, sir, I will sail. But if not, I will never embark again. But I will go sell the ship and will not seek the wealth of sea-trade." Then the holy Saint said to him, "Take some of this *hnāna* in the name of our Lord Jesus

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heavenly deliverer is here crassly transferred to Simeon. (Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 222.)

Christ, and go make the sign of the cross three times on the ship and set sail. And I have hope in my Lord that he will accompany thee, and thou wilt go in safety and return prosperously." And all as many as heard when it was told were astounded and amazed and praised and blessed our Lord, who did in such wise the will of his worshipper.

Again, there was a certain maiden in the Persian domain, the daughter of a Christian, and she was beautiful to see and of comely appearance. More than her external appearance her mind was beautiful (p. 608) and excellent and charming, and acceptable to God. And one of the accursed fire-worshippers saw her, a basilisk who had the title of Marzevān, and he lusted after her to take her as one of his wives. For the girl, though a Christian, did not belong to any religious order. But when he sent to her parents many times, she neither gave heed to those who came nor gave them answer. For she said, "God forbid that I should go up to the bed of a vile man who worships the fire." Therefore he went and sought to get her by an order from him whom they called "King of Kings". Then seeing that she did not obey it, he seized her by force, with many people, as though by command of the "King of Kings". And when she remained constant to her resolve and said, "Though I die, I will not go up with thee to the bed, for I am the virgin of Christ," he scourged her and shutting her up inflicted severe and bitter tortures upon her. And as she stood by her first resolve and said, "Though I die, with thee to bed I will not go up," and he was ashamed to have her flout him, thereupon he commanded his menials to hang a great stone weight on her neck and throw her into the river at the confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris. And as they took her out to throw her in, she raised her eyes to heaven and said, "O God of Saint Simeon, do thou help thy maidservant and see that for thy name's sake I am about to die, because I will not defile myself in the bed of the unclean and abominable man who denies thy name and worships dead idols." They put the weight on her and threw her into the river. At the very moment she fell, the Saint was there standing in the midst of the river, and reaching out his hand grasped her and drew her out and fetched her up out of the river and stood her on the dry land. Then he loosed the weight from her and said to her, "Fear not,

my daughter. The God in whose name thou believest is thy deliverer. As for that vile heathen, lo, the right hand of the Lord will smite him with an incurable disease." And he lead her and brought her as far as the edge of her village holding her by her right hand, while he exhorted her not to fear. When she reached her village he said to her, "My daughter, go in peace, and may the Lord be with thee." Then she entered, and her parents saw her, they who were sitting in great grief and mourning on her account, and they were amazed and trembled and were astonished. And when they asked her by what means she came, she told them everything as it had happened, and how the Saint drew her out and brought her up from the river and conducted her as far as the border of her village, and all he said to her, and how suddenly he vanished from before her eyes when she reached the edge of the village. As she was telling her parents, many gathered at sight of her, and lo, on a sudden the sound of violent weeping went up from the house of that wicked man who had seized her. For as he reclined and dined, and his servants were standing and waiting on him, and he was thinking how he would vent his spite on the parents of the girl (p. 610) as well, a fearful judgment overtook him. For as he reclined he saw a terrible man enter and draw his sword. And when he saw him, he was terrified and affrighted. He leaped to stand in front of him, and struck him on the head with the sword. Immediately his whole right side withered from his head to his toes, and he cried out violently with a loud voice and said, "Because I persecuted the maidservant of the God of the Christians it has happened to me thus; woe to him whoever assails or opposes him!" And he never spoke another sentence, but lay in that great affliction, tortured, suffering, and worn out, prostrate like a dried-up tree, and he became a source of terror to those who beheld him. Because of his experience many of the heathen were afraid and terrified, and refrained from persecuting or harassing the Christians. Then the father of the maid took the trouble to go up with many of the citizens of his place to the mandra of the Saint. And he told these things in the presence of the blessed St. Simeon before everyone. And all those who heard as he recounted, gave praise to God. And the father of the girl and the people of the village stayed with the Saint

a week, when, having received his blessing, they turned back in peace, rejoicing and praising and blessing God.

These things then and many besides our Lord did through his Athlete. Also, rain was restrained many times; whereupon they assembled (p. 611) and coming to him besought him. He then supplicated his Lord, and He did his will so that there was rain, and worn out souls were refreshed and confessed and praised God and went down from his mandra rejoicing.

One time there was a great lack of rain; the whole winter passed, and Lent was now about to begin, yet not a drop of rain had fallen. Everybody prayed and made supplication, for the whole region of Beth Gubbē<sup>1</sup> was exhausted by drought. And to the mandra of the Saint every day came the priests, covered with sackcloth, their heads sprinkled with ashes, and their flocks with them, with tears and groanings. So they continued in that drought, while daily all creation was bowing down in the mandra of the Saint; yet there was no relief from any quarter. The winter now was about past and Lent therefore just commencing, when the Saint closed the door of his mandra. There happened to be there a certain procurator who had been very constantly in the mandra, and he loved, too, the disciples of the Saint. Being a man who had great freedom of speech with them, he said to them jokingly, as they stood talking together, "It is written that Elias prayed and his Lord did his will, so that there was rain. Samuel also prayed in harvest, and his Lord answered, and there was rain in harvest. But today perhaps there is no one whose will his Lord will do as he did for those ancients. For, lo! how long a time all creation is (p. 612) tormented; yet no help comes from anywhere." When prayer was finished, and everyone went to his task, those disciples of the Saint drew near and told these things and said to him, "Thus did Kuriakos the procurator say to us."

But the Saint, when he heard these things from these his disciples, was confounded greatly and said to them, "I take oath that up to this time I have not prayed before my Lord that there should be rain upon the earth, because I see their rebellious deeds. But now that the Evil One hath sown this

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<sup>1</sup> "House of Wells".

seed in their minds, send men everywhere and summon the priests with their flocks." But the disciples of the blessed Saint Simeon drew near and used entreaty and said to him, "Lo, every day crowds fill the mandra. Now take heed lest any should be offended and they should say, 'Behold, he is sending and gathering together the world for the sake of his aggrandisement.' If thy Holiness knows that anything will happen,—but if not, send them away about their own affairs; lo, they come and go daily of their own accord." But he said to his disciples, "Do you assemble them, and as for that which our Lord will do, it is not for you to worry about it. Do you carry out that which is commanded you, and my Lord knows what he will perform for the honor of his name." Thereupon they sent out and summoned them to come on Friday, and many people gathered there, a countless multitude. The mountains were covered, and the mandra (p. 613) was filled inside and out with men and women. They also brought in small children who were learning the letters and placed them before the Saint, and their teachers sang antiphonally with them in the Greek language "Kyrie eleison", which is interpreted, "Lord, have mercy upon us."

Now the blessed Saint, when he saw the priests with ashes sprinkled on their heads, standing in sorrow and in anxiety, while the cries of men and women within and without ascended on high, and those children, too, like innocent lambs, and moreover the sun as hot as in summer, he was greatly grieved, his soul was moved and his compassion grew fervent. After he had prayed and made supplication before his Lord a long time, he raised his eyes to heaven and sighed and smote upon his heart with his hand three times, inside of his *kasoula*.<sup>1</sup> Then again clasping his hands behind him he bowed himself with his face upon his knees and remained bowed a long time. All the people too were praying that his Lord might do the will of his believer. As he bowed and prayed, everyone also standing in grief and tears, they looked to see what our Lord would do; when, lo, on a sudden there appeared some mist of white cloud. Thunder too, deep-toned, resounded after it and spread to every side, until the whole heavens were filled with it, and the wind blew violently.

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<sup>1</sup> A coarse cloak worn by priests.

Then the rain began to fall heavily, and it was also very cold. And all the people, who a little while before had been running to the shade from the (p. 614) extreme heat, took to flight for shelter from the wind and cold and heavy rain.

And when the blessed Saint heard the sound of the water which was coming down into the cisterns as he bowed in prayer, and the voice of the people who were praising and blessing God for what they had seen, he raised himself up from the position of bowing in prayer, while his face shone like the rays of the sun, and his mind exulted and rejoiced that his Lord had done his will. And when he saw those who huddled together under shelter from the cold and rain, he called them and said to them, "A little while ago ye were weeping for rain, and now, behold, ye run from it." And he encouraged them and comforted them and said to them, "See, the Lord hath given you rain; and I trust in him and his goodness, that if ye walk uprightly, fearing him with all your hearts, keeping his laws and commandments, this year, although the winter is past, and ye have come to the conclusion that no one will reap a harvest, the Lord God will bless, so that its production will be two fold, and ye eat and be satisfied and bless the name of the Lord God." So he sent them away from him rejoicing, confessing and adoring and praising God. And there was rain again and many showers, and the year was blessed, as the Saint told them. And they filled the granaries with twice as much as the usual produce and gathered in large crops and filled their houses with the fruits of the earth. And they ate and were satisfied, and blessed and praised God their Sustainer.

(p. 615) Then after everyone was dismissed in peace from the presence of the Saint to his own place and dwelling, when evening came and the holy man remained with these disciples who ministered to him, they drew near, the two of them prostrating themselves before the Saint, and besought him with entreaty to reveal and show them in what manner he made the petition, or what he said in his prayer when he prayed and made supplication and entreated his Lord. But he was reluctant and declined to reveal or say either what he said or saw and heard. Again they persuaded him very earnestly. Then, solemnly adjuring them to tell no one during his lifetime, he revealed it to them and said, "When I saw these priests



present with their flocks, their heads sprinkled with ashes and all the people crying and these children pleading for help, I was grieved and troubled even to death. And to my Lord in prayer I said this: 'O Lord God, merciful and compassionate, either have mercy and relieve these afflicted souls who cry to thee, who are assembled on account of thy name, or take the life of thy servant and never again let me see the distress of thy people and thy servants.' After this, while I bowed and my tears fell, I saw a beautiful youth who came passing in front of me and said to me, 'Thy prayer is heard, thy petition accepted, thy wish accomplished, and thy request granted.' And at the time he spoke to me and passed before me, I heard the sound of the thunder booming and the sound of the wind blowing and the rain falling. (p. 616) Then I praised and blessed God, that he did not turn away from the prayer of his servant."

These things then, and ten times more than these signs and wonders our Lord did through the blessed Saint Simeon. For we said before that there is no one of mortal men who could enumerate or count the benefits and deliverances which God wrought through him for men. Or who, again, is able to say and recount the wonderful things which were done by his prayers in distant places? And also many visions our Lord revealed and made known to him, a multitude of which he concealed, and did not speak of to any one; because he was careful that no one should think of him that he repeated them for his own glory. About this also a revelation was made to him. For he saw two men standing before him in fair and excellent garments, talking about this matter. One of them said to his companion, "See how many visions and revelations are shown to him, which he has concealed and hidden, and not revealed one of them to any one." Thereupon the other one answered his companion, "He does very rightly. For this also he is to be commended, because he does not reveal and tell that which is shown to him from God for his encouragement. For by this it is evident that he does not seek his own glory, and there is no more any opportunity for others to speak the thing they desire." When they had discussed with each other these things and many more than these, as they were walking (p. 617) to and fro in the mandra, they disappeared. They did not say anything to the Saint

about this. He held his peace and they said nothing to him, but he knew that they said it as a caution. As a result of this he was extremely careful and refrained from repeating or saying anything about that which was revealed to him from God.

As for the monastic life and labor and practice, which he led and endured and suffered before God secretly and openly, this was evident and manifest to all men: that neither among the ancients nor the moderns was there a mortal body that could endure for one hour and withstand the hardships which the body of the blessed Saint Simeon bore and withstood. For we all know and are persuaded that for wonder and marvel the Holy Spirit wrote down the glorious deeds of believers in Holy Scripture for the comfort and encouragement and help and warning of humanity. For Moses, the great prophet, the clear-seeing eye of all Israel, the glorious athlete, the wise master-builder, the profitable servant, the vigilant mariner, the skilful pilot, the practiced scribe, the prince of the believing house, twice alone fasted forty days and forty nights, each time without eating bread or drinking water, while he was on the mount with his Lord, a cloud around, thick darkness encompassing, fire burning, smoke ascending, horns sounding, trumpets blaring, angels in trepidation, the watchers of Heaven alarmed, the holy angels and cherubim shouting, (p. 618) while Moses was talking and God answering him with the voice.<sup>1</sup> And he was refreshed, and his food was the divine vision, and his drink the heavenly splendor. He fared sumptuously in the fast and was purified in prayer. Elijah, too, the zealot, the consuming fire, in the strength of that food which he received from the angel at the command of his Lord, which no one had sown and no one had provided, went forty days and forty nights and came to the mount and entered the cave. By the fast of forty days he was made worthy to hear the divine voice and see that fearful vision at which heavenly beings tremble and earthly beings are terrified; then he was sent to anoint kings and prophets. And he received thence the earnest of his fast, that from the world of sorrows he should be translated and taken up to Eden which is filled with all manner of delights. Daniel,

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<sup>1</sup> Exod. 19, 19.

also, a man to be loved, scion of the household of faith, fasted twenty one days without eating bread or drinking water, and neither washed nor anointed himself; and a watcher from heaven, prince of the angels, was sent to him, and for his fasting and prayer revealed to him secrets and made known to him the future, and brought back the captivity from Babylon. By his fasting and prayer the seed of Abraham, the friend of God, were delivered from subjection to their enemies. And we worship our Lord for his goodness, that his compassion upon the creation of his hands was kindled, and his mercy constrained him, and coming down he wove and clothed himself with the garment of flesh which he in his goodness had formed with his holy hands as seemed good to himself; when he went (p. 619) out to the wilderness that he might be tempted, it is written that for forty days and forty nights he remained in fasting and prayer, not eating bread nor drinking water. As much as his divinity knew that the flesh of mortals can endure, so much it permitted the holy flesh which it had assumed to endure. And after the forty days in which he continued in fasting and prayer, it seemed good to his divinity and he beckoned to hunger and it came; and when he commanded, it approached him, that he might make known and show that truly indeed he had assumed the flesh of Adam, that he might be subject to hunger and thirst and weariness and sleep. And in that flesh he overcame his enemy by fasting, and put Satan to confusion and scattered his hosts, trampled sin under foot, slew death, desolated Sheol, and received the crown of victory.

If then, as we have said, our Lord performed such wonders and signs through these mighty and wonderful men, by their fasting forty days at a time, what should we say about the blessed Saint Simeon, of whom no one can tell his ascetic practices, unless it is God who knows and is acquainted with his toil and his service! For he wearied himself and struggled and toiled before his God in mighty fasts untold, and in mighty prayers unconquerable. In hunger and thirst, in heat and cold, continually, unceasingly, in supplication without interruption, and standing at all times; who gave no sleep to his eyes nor repose to his body fifty six (p. 620) years night and day. For he was in the monastery nine years, in wonderful discipline and severe practices, as we have written down and recorded above.

Then in the mandra besides, in Telneshē, he remained forty-seven years. He stood in a corner in the mandra ten years, some of the time in a cell, in great struggle and in contest and conflict with the Enemy. After these things he stood upon those smaller pillars seven years: on one of eleven cubits, on one of seventeen cubits, and on one of twenty-two cubits. And on that one of forty cubits he stood thirty years, while our Lord gave him strength and endurance so that on this he finished the days of his life in peace and tranquillity, with deeds of beneficence. He had the good end with men of peace,<sup>1</sup> and his end was ten fold greater than his beginning. His Lord did his will and pleasure and granted his request. He asked and received. He knocked at the door of his Lord in truth, and it was opened unto him. For he honored God with a perfect heart, and was honored by God with all these rewards. He loved his Lord with all his heart, more than himself and his life; for he surrendered his soul and put it into the hands of his Lord. So his Lord, who saw his diligence, gave him favor in the eyes of all men and magnified the fame of his exploits from one end of the creation to the other, and granted him besides that thing which his soul earnestly desired. For many times he asked and besought his Lord in prayer, saying thus: (p. 621) "O Lord God of Hosts, Let not thy servant come to stand in need of mortal help, and let me not descend from this place, and men see me on the ground. But upon this stone, on which I have stood at thy command and at thy word, grant me to finish the days of my life. Then from it take the soul of thy worshipper, according to the will of thy Lordship."

But perhaps there is someone who says, "What need did he have, or was this required, that he should stand upon a pillar? For on the ground or in that corner could he not please our Lord?" We all know, indeed, and are aware of the fact that God is everywhere, in Heaven and on earth, in the height and in the depth, in the sea and in the abyss, and underneath the earth and above the heavens. And there is no place devoid of his divinity, except men who do not his will. Wherever a man calls upon him in truth, there he finds him. For Jonah called upon him in the lowest abysses, and

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<sup>1</sup> Psalm 37, 37.

he heard his prayer and accepted his petition, and from the inside of Sheol below he drew him forth. Again, Daniel cried unto him from the den, and the companions of Hananiah from the fiery furnace, and he sent an angel with his grace according to his petition and was a deliverer and a savior to them. By each one of his servants, wherever they sought him, there he was found: Elijah on Carmel, Abraham on the top of the mountain, quickly he heard their prayer and granted their wish and answered their petition and exalted them. In the manner that seemed best to his Lordship, in the case of each one of his servants in (p. 622) due season, as was pleasing and good in his eyes, he sent him to preach and to teach. And again, according as he willed, he gave them laws and commandments; the sons of Adam, that they should not eat of the tree; the sons of Seth, that with the daughters of Cain they should not mingle; Noah, the rainbow and the inviolable covenant; Abraham, the sign and seal of circumcision; Moses, the Sabbath and the keeping of the law. Elijah he clothed with zeal, like flaming fire. Isaiah he commanded that he should walk before him naked and barefoot. Jeremiah he commanded to put a yoke and thongs on his neck. To Ezekiel he said,<sup>1</sup> 'Shave thy head and beard with a razor, take thy stuff upon thy shoulder and dig through the wall and go out as though insane.' Hosea, the holy prophet, he commanded, "Take a wife, a harlot." And to each one of his servants in his own season he commanded to live according to his will; because he has authority as Lord in his creation and as God over the work of his hands, and there is none who can find fault with the free will of his Lordship. Everyone who hears and observes and does, is kept and exalted and prospered. For Abraham was counted worthy to be called the friend of God, and Moses too was glorified and made chief and leader, while great exploits and wonderful our Lord performed through him. Elijah, too, was taken up and did not taste death. Thus, in the case of Saint Simeon, too: it pleased his Lord to have him stand on a pillar in these days and last times, because he saw the creation as though it were asleep, (p. 623) that by the distress of his servant he might arouse the world from the heaviness of its lethargy of sleep, and that the name of his

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<sup>1</sup> Ezekiel 12, 3 ff.

divinity might be praised through the instrumentality of his believer.

That thou mayest know that truly this was from God, I will tell thee the thing as it was and as it happened. Saint Simeon had a window in the mandra, before which a stone was placed which was three cubits high, and incense and a censer were put upon it. Once during the confinement of the forty days, when about three weeks had passed, there appeared to Saint Simeon a certain goodly man whose face was radiant as the light, who was girded as one who goes to war; and he saw him come and pray before the window of the sacred treasury. After the prayer was ended he went up and stood upon the stone, and, folding his hands behind him, he bowed and raised himself up; then looking at the Saint, again he lifted his hands towards Heaven and gazed upward. Three nights, then, he did thus from dusk to dawn. Thereupon the Saint perceived and understood that for his sake he did thus, and had been sent from the Lord to show him and teach him that thus he should be assiduous in his prayer. And when he ceased after three days and had passed out of sight, the Saint himself went and stood upon it three months. After that, he began to make for himself those small pillars, until he made the one twenty cubits high.

(p. 624) And that thou mayest know that in very truth this thing was from the Lord, that he stood upon a pillar, again I will tell thee that which really was. After he had stood upon those small ones seven years, up to that one twenty cubits high, he had the feeling that he should exchange the twenty cubit one and make one of thirty cubits. So when the Lenten fast drew near, he called that disciple of his who was with him, the one who served him many years, who closed his eyes, and on whose shoulder he laid his head as he surrendered his spirit to his Lord. And he commanded him and said to him, "Before the time when our Lord wills and the door of the mandra is opened, make and set up for me a pillar of two sections, which shall be thirty cubits high." He also summoned workmen and commanded them and said to them, "Before the door is opened, let it be made and erected and placed by the door." When the door of the mandra was closed, the workmen went about it to hew it. But it was as though something were opposing them, for whenever they quarried out

a section and struck it, something smote it and shattered it. So they were hewing and the stones were getting broken, until four weeks had passed, and only two weeks remained before the door would be opened. Then that disciple was troubled and the workmen as well, because the forty days were almost gone, and up to this time they had not accomplished anything. So the disciple came to him by night and called and said (p. 625) to the Saint, in distress, "My Lord, I beseech thy holiness, entreat thy Lord on behalf of this matter, that if it is according to his will, he will remove the difficulty and reveal to thy holiness that thus Satan is opposing us. And if it is not his will, why should we labor in vain, we and the workmen, and not accomplish anything?" But the Saint refused even to talk with the disciple, and said to him, "Go away, and come to-morrow." He did as he commanded him. And the next night he came and called and said to him, "My Lord, what does thy holiness command me? Shall we work or stop?" Then the Saint talked with him and encouraged him and said to him, "Be not troubled, for lo! God has corrected it according to his pleasure; and he revealed and made known to me, the sinner, the thing which I sought from him. For there came to me this night a certain man of goodly and pleasant appearance, who said to me, 'Be not discouraged about the matter which thy disciple reported to thee. For thus thy Lord wills, that thou shouldest make for thyself a pillar forty cubits high, and construct it of three sections symbolical of the Trinity, as thou believest.' And he gave me three gifts, pure and white, very beautiful and lovely. And thee also he called by thy name: 'Sacristan So-and-So, take this gift and cry aloud and proclaim and say, 'Sing unto the Lord a new song, all the earth.' But now go and do just as I said to thee; and I trust the Lord God that he will open up the door before thee."

(p. 626) And when that disciple arose in the morning and took the workmen with him, that they should go out and look for a suitable stone to hew out those three sections, the Lord opened the door before them, and they found inside the mandra a suitable stone, over which they had been going out and coming in daily. They set to work at it, and by the help of the Lord in one week they quarried and shaped it and prepared it for a pillar and brought it in and placed it at the

door of the mandra. So when the Saint opened the door, they brought it in, raised it, and put the pillar in place. And he went up and stood upon it thirty years as a single day. And his Lord granted to him that upon it he ended his days, as he requested from God, with great renown, with deeds of beneficence, acts of righteousness, and practices of perfection. And he was of profit to many, and to himself, and the name of his Lord was praised because of him and on his behalf from one end of the creation to the other. And he waxed influential and increased in his honor and exploits in his decease more than in his life-time. The holy church was exalted by him, the horn of Christianity lifted up, and his end was much greater than his beginning, so that if there was any one of divided opinion, his mind was established and he was confirmed in the faith.

For not as an ordinary man did his Lord give him exit from the world, neither did he hide from him the day of his coronation. He revealed it to him in the manner I will describe. After he had been in the mandra (p. 627) seven years, two men appeared to him standing before him in fair and beautiful clothing. One of them grasped in his right<sup>1</sup> hand a measuring rod with which he measured off forty rods, then turned to his companion and said to him, "Whenever this number forty is completed, the measure will be finished, and he will be taken. But I will make a sign the like of which has not been in these times, and then I will take him." And without the Saint fully understanding him, he repeated the measuring twice, speaking in the same way. To the Saint himself about this thing he did not say anything; only they talked with each other not a little while, then disappeared. But he was sure that it was said about him, and he was always very heedful of it. And when he saw that the number drew near, he was looking for that sign of which he had said, "I will make it, and then I will take him;" and he was reflecting as to what sort of sign this would be.

When he saw that<sup>1</sup> sign of anger which occurred in the city Antioch and its district, and he saw the whole creation which assembled there, thousands and tens of thousands, a countless throng, and saw the priests leading their flocks and

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<sup>1</sup> In June and September, 459 A. D., there were severe earthquakes.



using great diligence and care, with censers and incense and lighted tapers and crosses, and all the people running from every quarter shouting and with tears and bitter groans, and he also saw that the number was completed, he felt disturbed and summoned his first disciple and said to him privately, "As I see the number is completed, and the sign is very solemn, (p. 628) I do not know—has indeed the appointed time arrived, and am I to be taken? But before the day I will say to thee, because thou hast been with me many years and knowest that clothing of any other sort has never touched my flesh, except these skins: Now let God be thy witness if thou allowest clothing of any other kind to touch my limbs!" Thus it was that clothing of any other kind did not touch the flesh of the Saint, besides those skins. And his Lord made his departure such as I think none of those born of women in these times had. For there was an assembly of the people and of all humanity, innumerable and of untold size, for fifty-one days after that last sign which occurred in the district, and no one dared either to enter his house, except in fear, or to go out to the field, except in terror. No one was doing any work at all, but upon everyone a stupor had fallen, and they had all given up in despair, and the mind of every one was confused and distracted. They stood looking to see what the Saint would command them; for as though from the mouth of his Lord they looked to receive the command of his Holiness.

After fifty-one days had passed, as we said, there was also that great commemoration in the month Tammuz. After this the Saint never made another commemoration such as that one, whose congregation no one could (p. 629) describe. For since time began there has not been its like in creation. For God had aroused the whole world that he might bring it to the greeting and reverence of his loved one, and might show him his honor while he lived, as he did to Moses the holy when he took him up to the mountain and showed him the promised land, and then took him away. The blessed Saint Simeon summoned everyone, the priests and their disciples, the nobles and the humble, and exhorted them and comforted them, and gave them commands and admonitions that they should keep the laws and precepts of our Lord. Like a father good and compassionate, who commanded his beloved children, he said to them, "Go in the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ,

and keep vigil in your districts three days. Then go out in the name of our Lord and set to work, and let every one do his task. And I trust the Lord God, that he will be your preserver."

And after he had dismissed every one to his work in peace, thirty days passed, when, on the twenty-ninth day of the month Ab at the eleventh hour of the night between Saturday and Sunday, he suddenly felt ill, as some disciples were present with him; and pain struck him, and he began to suffer, and his whole body was feverish. He felt ill all day Sunday and Monday and Tuesday. Then lovingkindness was shown him by God, which on account of its magnitude is perhaps difficult to believe; (p. 630) but to believers everything is credible, to those who know that to their Lord everything is possible. The sign was this: The heat was severe and so intense that the ground was burned from its glow, in those days during the going out of Ab and the beginning of Elul. And to the Saint this lovingkindness was shown which I will describe; and perhaps for this purpose also that intense heat came to pass, for the sake of a test, and by reason of the sign his Lord ordained to give him an earnest of the reward of his labor, while he was in this world. For the wind blew softly, and it was cool and balmy as though heavenly dew were dropping upon the Saint. And pleasant fragrance exhaled and came from it, the like of which has not been told in the world. There was not one odor of it, but wave on wave came whose several odors were different from one another, so that neither spices nor sweet herbs and pleasant smells which are in the world, can be compared to the fragrance of those waves; because it was by the care and providence of God. For neither were they exhaled in every place, nor even the whole length of that staircase, but from its middle and upward wave on wave went forth, nor in the whole mandra. No one perceived it, because of the incense which was ascending. And when that first disciple saw it, who loved him and stayed with him day and night and did not go away from him, especially in those days when he was ill, he comforted him and encouraged him and said to him, "Behold, my lord, how thy Lord loves thee. For lo, he has done thy will and (p. 631) pleasure in everything, and brought all the world to greet thee and honor thee; and lo, he shows thee thy honor in thine eyes. And this, too,

which has not been the lot of man, he has done in the case of thy Holiness; and even now he has given thee the earnest of the reward of thy labors, for it was never heard nor spoken of in the world that incense exhaled in this manner; from this time thy Lord honors thee as thy labors deserve. But we beseech by thy God whom thou hast loved from thy youth, fill thy holy mouth with blessing and bless thy disciples, because thy perfection knoweth how we honor and worship thy righteousness." So he blessed them, and admonished and commanded them that they should tell no one about this incense. For the Saint himself knew that in very deed it was a divine providence.

On the fourth day of the week, in the second of the month Elul, at the ninth hour, as all his disciples were present with him, he gave command to those two about their companions and committed them all to our Lord. Then he stood up erect, and three times bowed, and again raised himself up, and gazed heavenward, and turned about and looked on all the world. Then all the people who were there cried out, "Bless us, Master." Again he gazed eastward and westward and on every side, then raised his hand from the inside of his cloak and blessed them, thrice committing them to our Lord. As his disciples stood and kept hold of him, as sons a father good and kind, again they said to him, "Master, bless thy servants, we beseech by thy Lord, who has done thy will and is taking thee to himself (p. 632) as thou didst ask him." Thereupon he grasped the hands of both of them and commanded them about one another, that they love one another. He commanded them also about their companions. Then raising his hands to Heaven he committed them to our Lord. Then again he lifted his eyes to Heaven and smote three times upon his heart with his right hand, and bowed and put his head on the shoulder of that first disciple. And the two disciples put their hands upon his eyes, and he surrendered his spirit to his Lord. So he fell asleep, and the labor and weariness and pain were over, when he put his head on the shoulder of that disciple, while they put their hands upon his eyes, and all the people stood and looked at him.

But his disciples, because they feared the people, lest the village should gather and come to snatch him away and there should be bloodshed and murder, made him a coffin and put

him in it on the top of the pillar, until they might secure for it a place of honor. Suddenly this was reported, and the rumor went out and spread in all the world. And astonishment and consternation seized everybody, and amazement fell upon all flesh, because so suddenly they heard this which they had not expected. Everybody's mind fell into blank confusion, their brains grew numb and hands feeble, and mourning and grief fell upon many. There were some, indeed, who mourned and sorrowed, and some again who rejoiced and gave thanks. So that rejoicing was mingled with sadness, consolation with mourning, and cheerfulness (p. 633) with gloom. For some wept and were depressed; and others, again, lifted their hands to heaven, and to God Almighty gave thanks and blessings, that this report and the good news of the coronation of Christ's servant had reached their ears.

This event was one of sadness and of joy; of mourning and of consolation. For it was sad, that such a wise pilot who steered his worldly ship with divine wisdom was taken away from the world. But it was a matter of rejoicing, that the fleshly ship of the watchful mariner had entered and arrived at the port of bliss, laden with a rich cargo, and he had escaped the billows which continually buffeted him. Ceased now the tempests with winds and hurricanes, which had battled with him and against him. His gain in trade was an abiding possession, and his Lord he gladdened with his profits. On the other hand, it was an occasion for lamentation, my brethren, because such a wise master-builder, laden with the petition of the weight of the creation, had been taken away from the world. For like beams in an edifice, his prayers held firm the world. On the other hand, it was matter for cheer, because his Master had stretched out the hand of relief and given him strength and endurance. He began in His Name, and finished in His Goodness. His building went up to the finish and was not shaken by the winds and rain and flood of sin, which throughout forty-seven years surged against it with every sort of trial. Again it was a matter of tears and sorrow, because such a spiritual father, who nourished and (p. 634) brought up his children with heavenly nourishment, had departed from their midst. Again it was a matter of gladness, that even if he did leave his children orphans in the flesh, yet he like a heavenly eagle soared upward in flight and

mounted to the craggy eyrie on high, leaving behind all fears and ascending from all harms. Again, the orphans and widows wept with tears and sighs, saying, "Where shall we seek or where find thee, who sustained and nourished us next to his Lord?" The oppressed remembered and feared, and the down-trodden were disquieted, being depressed and troubled, saying, "Woe to us, because now is opened against us the mouth of ravening and voracious wolves. And whom shall we call to awake him, the strong lion, who slumbers and lies in the death-sleep, from whose roaring they trembled, and from whose terrible voice they hid themselves like foxes in their holes?" The sufferers, too, bewailing him said, "Whither shall we go, or where seek and find a healer like thee or comparable to thee and similar to thee? Before the disease saw thee, it fled, and before the pain had come to thee it vanished; and at thy word more than by all roots and drugs they were cured."

The church, moreover, wept for him with her children, priests and their parishes, and shepherds and their flocks, with grief and with joy, with tears and with supplications, with sighs and prayers, with sorrow and cheer. For in grief they sought him who was to them as a quiet harbor and peaceful asylum. For whenever sprang up any sort of evil, which is always a trouble and disturbance of the good, either (p. 635) winds of sin or hurricane of false doctrine, he stood ready boldly, like a wise master-builder, and like a skilful workman, and like a practical pilot, and like a watchful mariner, and like a trained athlete, and like an instructed scribe, and like an armed warrior clad with the breastplate of righteousness and nerved mightily with the true faith and strengthened spiritually with trust in his Lord. He soared in prayer, and fled for refuge with courage; he raised his eyes to heaven and lifted up his gaze on high, and asked mercy from his Lord, and sought grace and help from his God. He rebuked the winds of sin and they slept, and the whirlwinds of deceit and they became still. For he roared like a lion, and was a smiter of all who stand on the wrong side. They were comforted then and rejoiced, and their gladness was mingled with thanksgiving and blessing. For they rejoiced and blessed God their Lord, who had given to his servant so that he battled and conquered, fought and won, asked and received, sought and found, and knocked and it was opened to him. He began in truth and finished in righteous-

ness. The horn of the holy church was exalted, and all her sons rejoiced with their priests, and their folds with their flocks. All the teachers of false doctrines were ashamed and confounded, who saw one thing instead of another. They were in distress then, and troubled lest at any time a root of evil should produce a plant of bitterness like unto it, and with the taste (p. 636) of its bitterness should harm and injure many. Then where should we find a healer or a burden-bearer like him or equal to him, who before the ulcer appeared cured it, or before the disease or affliction came, healed it by his prayers?

For there was once a tempest of sin and a storm of evil against the Church of Christ, through a certain evil and wicked man, whose name was Asclepiades, an uncle of the empress. He was chief procurator in the days of Theodosius the emperor; and in the days of John, Bishop of Antioch. The mind of this evil man consented with that of heathen and Jews; but he hated the Christians. He sent out an edict that their synagogues and meeting houses which the Christians had taken from the Jews should be returned to them, and that the Christians should build and purchase some for themselves. And the edict of the king and command of the prefect in regard to this was promulgated in many cities and was read to everyone. Then there was great grief and disappointment among all the Christians, especially because they saw the Jews and heathen clothed in white and appearing glad and merry. But they did not know nor understand, the fools, that quickly sadness and regret would overtake them, and it would be in their case as it was in the days of our Lord, when their fathers and priests lost their money but did not bury the truth. So also now again (p. 637) it happened to them, that the great amount of money they had given they lost, and they became a laughing-stock in the world, while their Sabbaths and synagogues remained deserted in their desolation.

For there came to the blessed Saint Simeon bishops grieved and sorrowing, who told him this; also copies of the letters of the king and prefect they brought with them. And when they read them before the Saint, he was grieved and burned with zeal for his Lord like a flaming fire. And he took a courageous stand and boldly wrote words of might filled with rebuke. He did not call Theodosius "Emperor", but he wrote

to him thus: "Since thy heart is exalted and thou hast forgotten the Lord thy God who gave thee the diadem of honor and a royal throne, and thou hast become friend and confederate and abettor of unbelieving Jews, God's just judgment will suddenly overtake thee and all those who are consenting to this business. Then thou wilt lift up thy hands to heaven and say in thy distress, 'In truth, this wrath has come upon me because I played false to the Lord God.'"

When the Emperor read it, his heart trembled and feared, and he was seized with compunction even unto death. He at once commanded, and letters were written to all the cities, that the former letters be annulled, and the Christians and priests of God should be honored. He also dismissed the prefect from his office in deep disgrace. (p. 638) And he wrote letters to the Saint by the hand of princes, in conciliating terms, and asked him to pray for him and bless him and be reconciled to him. So the distress passed away, and there was joy to the church and all its adherents, and the evil one was ashamed with his servants. Thus truth was victorious and God was glorified through his believer.<sup>1</sup>

On account of these and many more things than these they were in grief and sorrow, because had departed from them the blessed father, to whom all the priests of God were like sons; and as a mother her sons, he had cherished them under the wings of his prayers. But they rejoiced and were glad because they saw that the Athlete was garlanded, and that the spiritual warrior, who had stood manfully in the contest and fought bravely, had conquered his enemy and was written down on the side of the conquerors; the diligent husbandman, whose seed brought forth a hundredfold; the wise master-builder, whose building was finished and was not shaken by the violence of the winds and the fury of the tempests and the rush of rivers, all the long time they beat upon it; the skilful sailor, whose ship arrived at the port of bliss and was not injured by the many surging billows and the fiercely raging storms which pounded and beat against it through a stretch of years; it opposed them all, and trampled upon their necks

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<sup>1</sup> On the trustworthiness of this account of Simeon's interference in the matter of the Jewish synagogues, see Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 218, and Torrey, *JAOS*, vol. XX, 1899, pp. 254 ff.

by the great help which was from its Lord, and rejoiced its mariner by the multitude of its gains; the faithful steward, who controlled his fellows in righteousness, and received the promise from his Lord, that he should be appointed over his treasury; (p. 639) the practiced scribe, who wrought and taught, and his teaching and the word of his tongue was acceptable, and they meditated on it night and day, men and women, old and young, young men and maidens. All regions rejoiced in the teaching of the just man, evil was ashamed, and God was glorified in his good and faithful servant, whose talent was doubled, and his Lord rejoiced over his gain in trade. The horn of the Holy Church was exalted in the end of his labor and in the completion of his struggle. Her mouth was opened in praise and in songs of the spirit; she began to say, rejoicing, while her face was glad and her heart exulted, and her soul was joyful, "Now is exalted my head above mine enemies about me." For she saw with all her sons what honor our Lord bestowed upon her lover, the one who had honored her priests and upheld her laws; and she forgot the shame and pain which had always tormented her. So she lifted up her voice in praise and began to say, "Now, Lord, I will praise thee, for thou answeredst me and becamest to me a Saviour."

For not in a simple way did his Lord make the departure for his faithful one, but above all men who lived in his day and generation he magnified his triumphs in his life and death. For while he lived there came from the ends of the earth far distant peoples and barbarian tongues to greet him, to see his radiant and dear face, and to hear his divine teachings, and emperors did him homage in their letters continually by their ambassadors. And again at his death priests came, and so did their parishes and flocks, (p. 640) and the emperor's commander-in-chief with a multitude of soldiers who were under his command. For there was at the time of the Saint's death a generalissimo who held the control of all the East, Ardabur the general, son of Aspar; who were (both) honored like kings in their own dominions. He came bringing with him twenty-one prefects and many tribunes, and an innumerable host of soldiers, and they attended the funeral of the Saint. For the citizens of Antioch entreated the general and besought him with tears and many sighs, that they might bring the Saint in thither, that he might be a defense to



their city, which was ruined because of their sins; that they might be sheltered by his prayers. This was done of the Lord, that he might show how great honor he was bestowing upon him who had loved him and honored him by good works and deeds of righteousness. For he brought him down with very great honor, and in much pomp, priests and chief priests bearing him on their hands, and all the sons of the Holy Church, until they came to the village of Shih, which was about three miles distant from the mandra. And from there, again, he was placed upon a chariot, with generals and chiefs and prefects of the cities, and many soldiers surrounding him, and people innumerable and countless. For the villagers came forth for the celebration, men and women, old and young, youths and maidens, bond and free, to show their respect for him and receive blessing (p. 641) from him, as they burned incense and carried lighted candles.

The Saint's body was conducted in pomp for five days; for on the second day of the week it went out from the mandra, and on Friday it entered the great city of Antioch in great pomp and with such chanting as is beyond description, while they burned incense and lighted candles, and sprinkled sweet perfume before it and upon all the people who accompanied it; psalms and spiritual songs were chanted before it, until into the great and holy church—which Constantine the victorious and just Emperor built, whose memory shall be blessed in both worlds—it entered and was placed, a thing which had happened to none of the saints, neither ancient or modern. For no one was ever put in the cathedral church, neither of the prophets nor of the apostles nor of the martyrs, excepting only the blessed Saint Simeon himself. Also the bishop of Antioch himself and all his clergy, every day as a mark of honor chanted hymns of the spirit before him, and served with great silver censers of incense which they placed before him, continually, burning all the time sweet odors and choice incense such as they burned while he was alive, that God might show how greatly he honored him in his life and in his death.

His Lord also showed in his funeral a great triumph through him, such that all the beholders (p. 642) were amazed, and he made known the gift of healing which was given to him from God, such a thing as his labors merited. For there was a man who was possessed of an unclean spirit of an evil

demon, who had lived among the tombs many years. The burial place was close to the highway, beside a village whose name was Marwa, and all those who went and came by that road saw him. His speech was taken away, and he was bereft of his reason, and roared all the time as he went to and fro at the door of the burial place. He neither knew anyone, nor did anyone dare to approach him from fear and because of the sound of his roaring. Now when he saw that the coffin of the Saint's body was passing by upon the chariot, as though mercy from heaven was shown him, and as though for this, too, he had been kept, he left the sepulchre in which he dwelt, and running at full speed, threw himself upon the coffin in which lay the Saint's body. And just as soon as he reached the coffin his demon fled from him and the evil spirit which tormented him left him. His reason returned, he knew and recognized every one, the bond of his tongue was loosed, his mouth opened, and he praised and glorified God; and astonishment seized everyone. So was fulfilled that which is written, "The power which is in his works he shows to his people."<sup>1</sup> And he followed the Saint (p. 643) and entered the city with him. And there he was many days in the church, rejoicing and confessing and glorifying God. Also the victorious and Christian Emperor Leo<sup>2</sup>, worthy of blessed memory, sent letters with ambassadors, with great pains, and wrote to the military commanders and bishops that they should send him the body of the holy Saint Simeon, that he might honor him there in his abode as his works merited, and that their dominion might be guarded through his prayers. Thereupon all Antioch arose with all its inhabitants, and with tears and sighs wrote and entreated of him, "Because our city has no walls, since it fell in the visitation, we have brought him that he may be a wall for us, and we may be protected by his prayers." And with difficulty he was persuaded by them to accede to this request that they should leave him with them. Even to such a degree as this did God magnify his worshipper, and because he honored God he was honored by God and revered by men.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ps 110, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Leo the First, who became king in the year 457 and died in the year 474. This clause is expunged in Codex Vat. See p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> "Here ends the story of Mar Simeon the Stylite" (Assemani).

So the holy and elect of God, Mar Simeon, was at rest.<sup>1</sup> His struggle was ended, and he received his crown with high renown and with deeds of righteousness, and there was great joy to all (p. 644) who feared God, in the year seven hundred and seventy, at the end of the δωδεκάτη, that is, the twelfth year, and at the beginning of the τρισκαιδεκάτη, that is, the thirteenth year, on the second of the month Elul, on the fourth day of the week. He remained in the mandra, after he was laid at rest in the coffin on the pillar, nineteen days. But in the reckoning of the month it was twenty days, because one day previous must be reckoned to the month for the time of the Saint's death. He was laid at rest on the second of the month, and went out of his mandra on the twenty-first of the month Elul, and entered the city of Antioch on the twenty-fifth of the month, on Friday. For he went out on the second day of the week, and on Friday he entered, that is, after a period of five days, amid rejoicing and in great and magnificent pomp. May his memory be blessed, and his prayers be over the creation forever. Amen!

Here endeth the glorious life of the blessed Mar Simeon.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> ["And was crowned the saint Mar Simeon on the second day of the month Elul on the fourth day of the week, at the ninth hour, in the year seven hundred and seventy-one of the Greek Era (i. e. 459 A. D.). Here endeth the excellent story of the course of the life of the perfect saint Mar Simeon of the Pillar. May his prayer aid the sinner who wrote it." (B. M. Add. 12174, fol. 48a)].

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Lent's translation and investigations were completed in the spring of 1906. Since then has appeared (in Harnack und Schmidt, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. 32, Heft 4; Leipzig, 1908) a comprehensive work on the life of the Saint by Lietzmann and Hilgenfeld, to which the latter contributes a German translation of the Bedjan text (pp. 80—180). Hilgenfeld also gives a translation of the *Letters* of Simeon (pp. 188 ff.), of which the Syriac text, with translation and an investigation regarding authenticity etc., was published by Professor Torrey in this *Journal* in 1899; see the reference above, p. 104. Ed.]

*The Tone-Accents of two Chinese Dialects.*—By CORNELIUS  
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A—Cantonese.

The Cantonese words whose "tones" are analyzed on Chart A were spoken by Mr. Sun Yap Shang, of Oakland, a well-known teacher of that dialect. Each word was a typical example of one of the "tones" of the traditional list. The records were made by the Rousselot apparatus. Of each record the wave-lengths (representing the time of each vibration) were carefully measured and plotted, forming the curves or patterns of pitch shown on the chart.<sup>1</sup> Each curve is there identified both by the number—in arabic numerals—and by the name assigned to that particular "tone" in the native list. The hair-line curves shown in the chart are plotted from duplicate records taken for control of results. In all these cases the correspondence between duplicate and original turned out to be so surprisingly close as to give assurance both as to the general accuracy of the method and as to consistency of utterance on the part of the speaker.

From the first it seemed doubtful whether under conditions of actual speech such an unusual number of tonal species could be certainly distinguished either in hearing or in utterance. But when once the figures were plotted, and it was possible to make definite comparison of them, the doubt was greatly strengthened. Few of these figures show any clear-cut distinction of form. Tone 1, to be sure, with its deep curving drop, and Tone 4 with its single short sharp note, are unmistakable. But the other eight seemed at first a mere huddle

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<sup>1</sup>For a full account of the method used see this Journal vol. xxxi, pp. 284—286.

of featureless shapes all crowded into the narrow compass of mid-voice pitch. Nowhere among them was there a rising glide or a circumflex or a low-pitched level note—figures of real individuality and character common in tonal languages. Nevertheless, after further study certain marked resemblances between members of this group of eight began to appear, leading to a rearrangement of them in four groups, each group consisting of two obviously similar figures constituting apparently a single species or type. This would be a simplification of the scheme very much to be wished, but before accepting it even tentatively certain matters must be considered.

1. In all similar studies so far undertaken, the one abiding feature of these "tones" has proved to be the *general* figure or pattern of movement as regards pitch. Considerable differences in detail are freely allowed, and indeed for the most part pass unnoticed, as may be seen in Chart B, where several examples of the same "tone" uttered consecutively by the same person are plotted side by side.

2. The feature least stable is absolute pitch, that is, definite position on the musical scale. Examples of large variation in this feature may be seen in groups IV and VI on Chart A, and under I in Chart B. That this is inevitable becomes plain when we recall that in singing each succeeding note takes its place at a measured interval of pitch from its immediate predecessor, so that each note furnishes a definite cue for the pitch of the next one. In singing, therefore, it is possible for a trained voice guided by a trained ear to approximate that interval so nearly that the ear of the listener is entirely satisfied; though even so it can never be mathematically correct. But in speech there are no measured intervals at all, and no constants of pitch to measure from. In tonal languages no vowel takes its cue of pitch from its neighbor, but only from a general sense of the relation of its "tone" to the general scheme of the voice. Under such conditions it is impossible for the organs of speech to strike accurately and maintain consistently—or for the ear to judge with even approximate accuracy—the definite pitch of any vowel in the flow of words. If proof be needed of this statement, one has only to look at the pairs of duplicates shown on the chart—duplicates which, as has already been said, are remarkable for the accuracy of their reproduction. The words in each case were the same,

and were uttered in close sequence; yet they differ in pitch sometimes as much as three semitones. "Tone" then, in our sense of the word, is not exactly pitch at all, but rather a patterned change or movement within the field of pitch. If the general pattern or figure remain the same, small differences of pitch do not compel the assumption of different species.

3. Vowel-quantity is a thing strictly observed, I believe, in all languages of the Chinese type. If "tone" be a patterned change or movement of pitch, quantity is time elapsed during the movement. Longer time-allowance favors a fuller execution of the pattern. Shorter time compels more or less abridgement. Time—that is quantity—is the horizontal ordinate of the chart, while pitch is the vertical one. Long quantity therefore appears as long reach of the figure across the chart. If a given pattern is found in both long and short forms, the long would naturally be accounted the type or species, since it is the more fully characterized, while the short would be the variety.

Turning now to the chart, we observe that in group II No. 5 is a third longer than No. 2; in group III No. 7 is a third longer than No. 8; in group IV No. 9 is half as long again as No. 10. In all these cases the patterns are strikingly similar, save that No. 9 has made use of its longer time to throw in a preliminary flourish. Unless further investigation should invalidate these results, it would seem that these six "tones" of the Cantonese list should be reduced to three species, each having perhaps a short variety.

The case of group V is not so clear. The resemblance between its members is not so compelling, and the quantity affords no clue. It seems altogether unlikely that within so narrow a compass of pitch two distinct species, each with the same pronounced rising vanish, could be successfully maintained. Determination of the matter can only be accomplished by those who can compare the results of a large series of instrumental records with the reports of a trained ear on the living speech.

4. So far as I know, long quantity "by position" as in Latin and Greek prosody has no place in the Chinese scheme. But in one language of the Chinese type—namely the Siamese—there is the interesting case in which a short vowel followed by either of the nasals, *m*, *n*, or *ng*, in syllabic closure, has its tonal function continued in the nasal, so that its "tone"

invariably has the full pattern of the long vowels.<sup>1</sup> This comes about through the fact that the nasals are vowel-like—if indeed they be not vowels altogether, as some are ready to claim—and sufficiently sonorous to take full intonation. This feature is emphasized by the fact that the only other syllabic closure ever heard in the language is that of the unvoiced stops, *p*, *t*, *k*, and the glottal stop which is not recognized in English. That is, all short vowels in closed syllables are either lengthened by continuation into a nasal, or are abruptly chopped off by the guillotine of an unvoiced stop which is not even exploded. That closure does affect tone is shown not only by the amplification of pattern in the case of the nasals, but by the fact that in the other case the vowels are limited to two special “tones,” the one a sharp high-pitched note extremely short (identical with Tone 4 of the Cantonese scheme), and the other a very short variety of the “depressed level tone” of long vowels. All this suggests the need of a careful examination of this field in the Chinese dialects also, if the theory of their “tones” is ever to be placed on a sure basis.

To sum up this part of the discussion—1) In the records of the eight traditional “tones” here in question there seem to be but four real patterns or figures of movement, and this fact strongly suggests the reduction of the eight to four. 2) The slight differences of pitch noted within some of the pairs so grouped offer no valid objection to their association under one species, since the differences are no greater than those often found between consecutive utterances of the very same word. 3) The minor differences of figure or pattern which appear are in some cases fully accounted for by demonstrated difference in vowel-quantity, which, as is well known, does often modify the tonal pattern materially. 4) In other cases the observed facts of a kindred speech suggest an examination of the syllables listed by the natives as of a given “tone” to ascertain whether they are open or closed; and if closed, whether the closure is by sonorous consonants which extend the vowel tone, or by stops which abruptly cut it off.

If this tentative combination and reduction is found to be in accord with the facts, the Cantonese scheme of “tones”

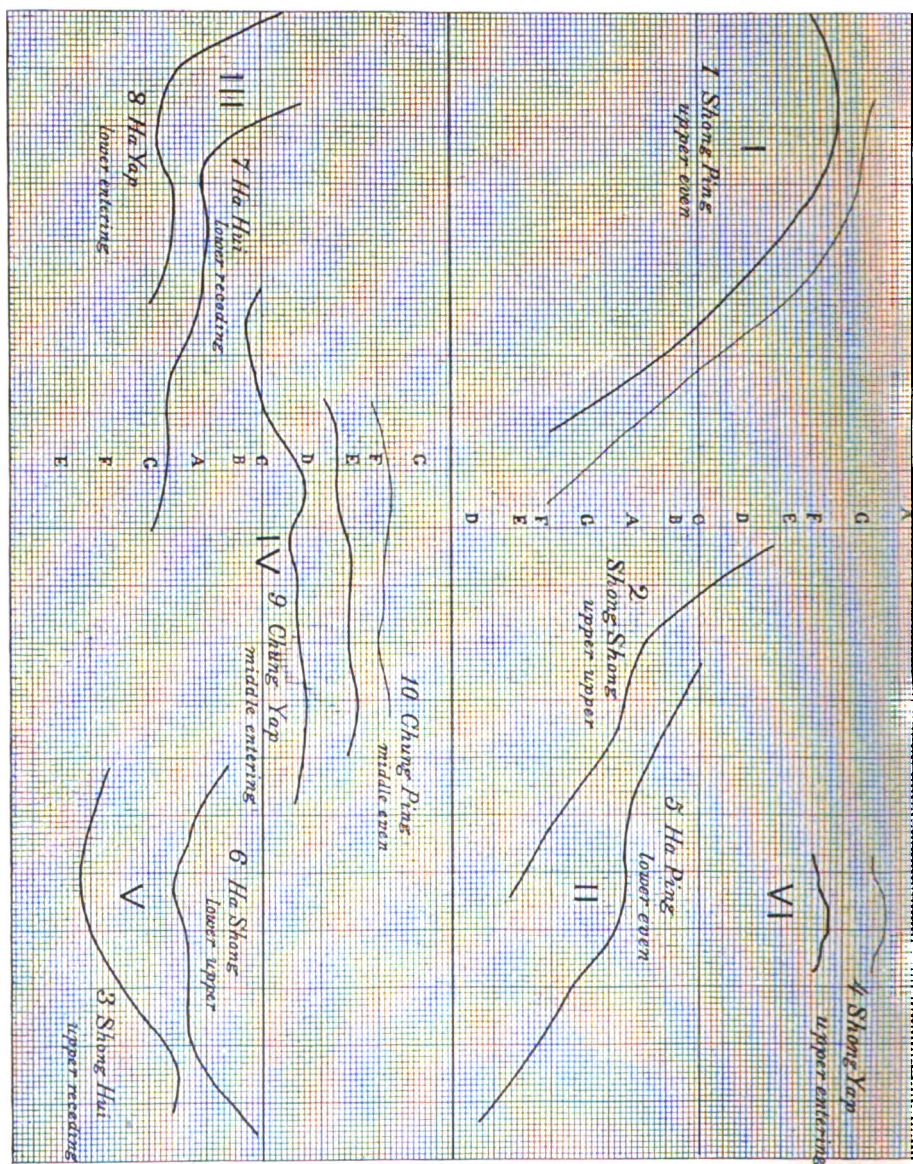
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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxxi, pp. 287—88.



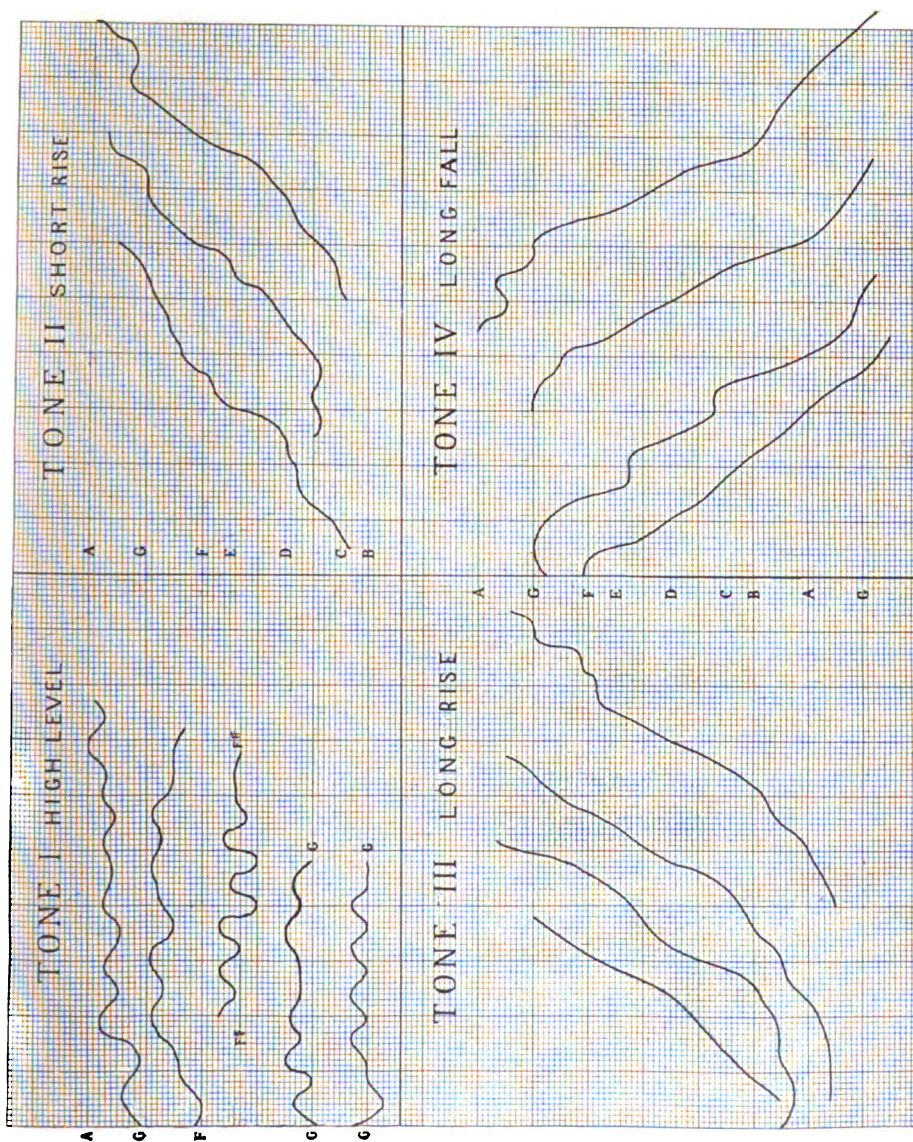


# A-CANTONESE





# B-PEKINGESE





would be brought into workable dimensions, and the "huddle about the mid-voice pitch" would be greatly relieved. But even so it would not entirely amend the lack of bold and unmistakable distinctions in this group of "tones." The approximately level line on IV indeed is ordinarily an unmistakable figure; but here its neighbors on either side are too nearly like it, and too nearly like each other, to make discrimination between the three either very easy or very sure in actual practice. Languages of this type are not only limited to monosyllabic words, but the number of possible monosyllables is in some dialects greatly reduced by allowing very few consonants to take the final place. The result is that there are not monosyllables enough to furnish forth the necessary vocabulary unless difference of tone be added to the possible differences of articulate elements alone. One wonders therefore whether, when they were about it, the founders of the Cantonese dialect failed to develop distinctions which really distinguish, or whether the present situation is the result of a sort of tonal decay which has leveled distinctions that once were valid—distinctions which meticulous Chinese scholarship retains in its scheme, though they now are no longer found in its practice.

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I feel sure that the figures on the chart are truthful representations to the eye of the various movements of pitch in the particular words which were spoken into the receiver of the recording instrument. It is possible, of course—though I do not think it actually so in this case—that the speaker's accent was at fault, or that the words he spoke did not properly represent the "tones" indicated. But, barring this possibility, it seems certain that in three, or perhaps four, instances, a given pattern was duplicated under another name. The evidence is there on the chart. A much larger series of records, and records of many different voices, must of course be examined before any general conclusion is reached. But for this voice and for this series of records the following summary and reclassification I think will hold. I offer it only as a starting point for further investigation and comparison by those who are more fully equipped and more fortunately placed for the accomplishment of the task.

**The Tone-patterns of Cantonese Speech—Description and Reclassification.**

- I (Tone 1).—A drop of increasing steepness through more than an octave from a level start at high pitch of voice. Long in quantity.
- II (Tones 2 and 5).—A straightaway glide from about mid-voice pitch, dropping gradually through less than an octave. Long, with probably a shorter variety.
- III (Tones 7 and 8).—A short drop from about mid-voice pitch, merging some three tones below into a level run. Long, with well marked short variety.
- IV (Tones 9 and 10).—A level run at a little above mid-voice pitch. Long, with well-marked short variety. (Identical with the “middle tone” of the Siamese.)
- V (Tones 3 and 6).—A preliminary movement of uncertain figure at the depressed level of III, ending with a rising vanish. Possibly meant for the reverse of III.
- VI (Tone 4).—A high note, extremely short, in which the vowel tone is abruptly cut off by the closure of an unvoiced stop *not exploded*. (Identical with the “high abrupt” or “high explosive” of the Siamese.)

**B—Pekingese.**

The speech herè recorded and analyzed is that of Mr. K. S. C. Kiang, Assistant in Chinese in the University of California, brought up from infancy in Peking, and resident there nearly all his life. The purity of his accent is vouched for by Professor John Fryer.

In plotting the results on Chart B, no attempt was made—as was done in the other case—to soften or generalize the minute inaccuracies or excentricities of execution which seem to be present in every vocal utterance. These are here retained as illustrating the superior delicacy of instrumental analysis as compared with even the trained ear. To the ear the serpentine wanderings of Tone I are absolutely unheard—are all blended into a single level note; and the three glides of Tones II, III, and IV, give not the slightest hint of uncertainty in attack or of hesitation in movement such as appears in the chart. For all ordinary purposes, however, the generalized form is no doubt preferable as less confusing, and as present-

ing more clearly the features which are constant. The small number of tonal patterns found in the Pekingese has permitted the plotting of several examples of each which may serve further to illustrate these points.

The chief features of the Pekingese scheme as here shown are: (a) its simplicity, due to the fewness of its "tones" and to the remarkable consistency of adherence to type; and (b) the high pitch and small compass of voice used in their execution. This last might of course be merely a personal peculiarity of the speaker. But Dr. Fryer is inclined to regard it as a general characteristic of the northern dialect. The only point of doubt which appears is caused by the very close resemblances between Tones II and III, raising the question as to whether they are not really one. This will be considered in the discussion of the individual Tones, to which we now pass.

Tone I is discerned by the ear as a high-pitched level note, near the upper limit of the speaking voice. Instrumental analysis of it, while in general confirming the impression of the ear, discloses a constant wavering or "wobbling" of the voice about a central line of level pitch. This central line seems to be the note which it is intended to strike and hold, but from which in its execution the voice continually sags or wanders, and to which it has to be continually brought back by a series of infinitesimal readjustments in the tension of the vocal chords. As has already been said, the same phenomenon in the form of hesitation and correction, may be traced in nearly all the other lines plotted on this chart.

Tones II and III may be best considered together. They are both rising glides ranging through the greater part of an octave, and reaching the high level of Tone I. Typically, however, III begins at a point about three semitones lower than II, and ranges upward through a whole octave; while II begins at about C, and covers only three-fourths of an octave. III moreover has usually a short preliminary movement before the rise actually begins. This is understood by the ear—if it notes it at all—as a short level run. This preliminary is commonly absent from II, or is much reduced. Yet II sometimes shows it unmistakably, and III sometimes lacks it altogether. Then III typically stretches over a wider horizontal space on the chart, that is, occupies longer time—a natural

result of its double movement and of its longer climb. But it is not so in every case. Indeed, were not the word here spoken known to be of Tone III, the example shown on the extreme left of group III would be taken for an unusually perfect specimen of Tone II.

On none of the lines then which we have been considering can groups II and III be really distinguished. The examples might be so arranged as to form a continuous series. According to all scientific canons they should be considered a single species. Should further examination of vocabulary, syllabication, and current usage discover a division along the line of vowel-quantity, the longer form would naturally be considered the type, while the shorter would be the variety.

Tone IV is simply III reversed. It is a long descending glide, beginning near where III ends, and ending near where III begins. The initial uncertainties, moreover, carry a suggestion of a preliminary run, which may or may not be confirmed by further examination.

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Note.—A few weeks ago,<sup>1</sup> when these studies were already under way, the writer learned that a Scandinavian scholar whose name could not be recalled had recently published a study of certain of the Chinese "tones." In the troublous days since then the writer has not been able to get track of the paper, nor to secure any further information regarding it. Under the circumstances it was thought best to complete what was begun and let the results take their chance. Being thus independently obtained, and very likely by independent methods and from different material, they should be of some value, if only for corroboration or as a starting point for further investigation.

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<sup>1</sup> The manuscript of this article was submitted in November, 1914. Ed.





*Entered as second class matter, June 10, 1912,  
at the Post Office of New Haven, Connecticut,  
under act of July 16, 1894.*

**Printed by W. Drugulin, Leipzig (Germany).**

# JOURNAL

OF THE

## AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

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New Haven, Conn.

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VOLUME 85 . PART III DECEMBER 1915.

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THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.

1915

*Current numbers of this journal can be had from W. Drugulin, Leipzig, Germany, for 6 Marks a piece. Subscriptions for entire volumes should be sent to the Librarian, Yale University Library. New Haven, Conn. U. S. A.*

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*Journal of Management Studies*, 19(1), 67-80.

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*The Propagation of the Date Palm: Materials for a  
Lexicographical Study in Arabic.*—By PAUL POPENÔE,  
Editor of the Journal of Heredity, Washington, D. C.

Date growing in the southwestern United States has been proved by fifteen years or more of careful experiment to be a profitable industry, and is certain, I believe, to become one of the important commercial cultures in those parts of California and Arizona that are suited to it, within a very few years. Already about 32,000 palm offshoots of the choicest sorts known to the Orient have been imported, representing nearly 400 varieties out of probably 5,000 to be found in different parts of the date-palm region, and more than 150,000 seedling palms, in addition, have been planted out by ranchers and by state and federal experimenters. The culture of the palm, which was brought to approximately its present Oriental state of perfection as early at least as the time of Hammurabi, is being subjected to careful tests by occidental scientists, some of the procedures being retained, and others rejected or improved. But in order that the culture of the palm in the United States shall be as nearly perfect as possible, it is quite necessary that we should have a thorough knowledge of what the Arabs have done. To this end, it is necessary that the scattered but fairly copious Arabic notices of the subject be known, and a necessary preliminary to such a study is an understanding of the vocabulary of the date-palm in the Arabic language. The present paper attempts to present some of the material in one limited branch of the culture, and consists largely of observations which I made during two years in Arabic speaking countries, collecting date palm offshoots for the West India Gardens of Altadena, California.

The date palm offshoot, the sucker by which the palm must be reproduced if it is to come true, is designated by a different name in almost every part of the Arabic-speaking world. In

some parts of Egypt, I am informed, it is known as *fasīlah* ("weak"), a word also in use among the Berber population of the Wādī Mzāb in Algeria. The word is also used to some extent in Baghdād, and no doubt also in other regions; it is frequently corrupted to *faṣīlah*, a spelling which, however, can be justified orthographically as meaning "ready to be separated from its mother". It is further corrupted to *faṣlah*, a form which in literary Arabic designates an offshoot removed from the mother-palm. *Naqīl* or *nagīl* is another Egyptian name, according to Schweinfurth<sup>1</sup>; it appears to be from *naqala*, to transplant, and the alternative spelling نجيل which he gives is doubtless to be set down as a vulgar error.

At al-Baṣrah, the shipping point of the world's greatest date-growing region, the offshoot is commonly called *farkh*, a word which properly designates any young animal or plant, and particularly a young chicken. If the offshoot springs from the trunk some distance above the ground, instead of at the base (the usual position), it is called a *rakbah* ("rider"), a word which is also used at Baghdād by the Badawīn. The general population of Baghdād calls such an offshoot *naghal* (a bastard), while the Christians, who avoid this word from delicacy, use the term *farkh* or else *jummār*; the latter word properly designating the pith or fibrous interior of the palm. *Rukabah* is the form used at Biskra, the chief shipping point for dates in Algeria. Schweinfurth found '*aqrab* ("twisted") used in this connection at Assiut in upper Egypt; as offshoots of this kind are frequently distorted, the name seems appropriate. He reports the name at Rosetta to be *masāsah*, the root of which seems to carry the idea of "to be in contact with", and at el-Qoren he found still another name, '*alūl*', an appellation which carries the idea of defectiveness.

To return to the ordinary type of offshoot, growing from the base of the palm, the customary name at Baghdād is *tālah*, a word of obscure origin. It has been ascribed to the Sanscrit *tal*, a palm; but as I found it in use (though rarely) at Biskra, Algeria, such a derivation seems extremely unlikely. According to Arab lexicographers, it is from a root *twl*, changed by metathesis to *tlw*; but my friend Father Anastase-Marie of the Carmelite Mission at Baghdād, who has in-

<sup>1</sup> *Arabische Pflanzennamen aus Aegypten, Algerien u. Jemen*, von G. Schweinfurth. Berlin, 1912, Dietrich Reimer.

vestigated the matter with care, thinks the origin is rather to be sought in the Greek *thallos* ("sprig, sprout or sucker"), a conjecture which I willingly adopt.<sup>1</sup>

At Biskra the customary word for the offshoot is *jabbār*, the proper signification of which is "stout" or "sturdy". The word is used more correctly in the Wādī Mzāb to designate a palm high enough so that a horse can pass under its leaves; and at Baghdād, and elsewhere among purists, the word is used only to designate a large, strong palm. In Algeria the word *jabbār* is used particularly when an Arab is conversing with foreigners; the Arabs around Biskra, when talking among themselves, habitually refer to the offshoot as *zumrah*, a word which the lexicographers say means "a small company of persons". But as the phrase *nabt zamir* classically means "a plant having few leaves", the word *zumrah* applied to an offshoot probably has been borrowed from this signification, and is not particularly vicious.

In Tunisia, the word regularly used for an offshoot is *ghars*, while in the Fezzān the allied form *maghrūsah* is current. The latter is classical, but also means "a seedling", in which sense I believe it is sometimes used today. The root *gharasa* means simply "to plant a tree".

In the extreme south of Algeria, below Tuggūrt, the offshoot is always called *hashānah*, certainly a corruption of the classical *hishshān*, plural of *hashsh* signifying an uncared-for palm. *Hishsh* (also found with the vowel *a* or *u*) also designates, in dictionary language, a plantation of palms; whence, it is interesting to note, it has taken on the meaning of water-closet.

At al-Madīnah the classical name *ṣinw* ("uterine brother or son") is still in use, while in parts of Najd, Father Anastase-Marie tells me, it is called رَضْعَة (also corrupted to *raṣ'ah*), "the adherent".

In Oman the name *ṣarm* is used, the classical signification of which is "that which is cut off". *Sirām* means a crop of dates, but in a *ḥadīth* it is transferred to the palms themselves. As far as I could learn, the Omanis call not only an offshoot, but a seedling palm, *ṣarm*.

<sup>1</sup> I am deeply indebted to Père Anastase-Marie, editor of the monthly journal *Lughat-al-'Arab*, for many other suggestions which have been invaluable to me in the preparation of this paper and in other work.

Finally, in the parts of Algeria bordering on Morocco, the name of an offshoot, I am informed, is *sguelem*, a word evidently borrowed from the Berber.

The circle of offshoots around the base of a palm, which imagination might easily liken to a bird's nest, is so designated by the Arabs, *'ushsh*. The same word (spelled *'aush* by Schweinfurth) is in use in Egypt, but in the Sudan it may designate a single offshoot, to judge from labels received by the U. S. Department of Agriculture from Dongola. Classically, *'ishshah* describes a palm the leaves of which are few and the base weak. At Baghdād the name for this circle of offshoots is *أشش*, plural *أشش*, for which I can suggest no derivation.

It will be observed that the modern Arab has a considerable latitude in choosing a word to signify "a date-palm offshoot". But the literary language contains many other names which are understood, though not colloquially used, by date-growers at the present day. *Sawāh* ("cut off" or "separated"), *ṣaur* ("replica"), *jathith* ("cut" or "uprooted"), are used in this sense. For the latter, *qathith* is sometimes written—a dialectal error which can also be justified from the root *qaththa*, to uproot. Richardson's dictionary gives *habalah* or *hablah* as a name for the palm offshoot, but I believe the word means only a sprout of the grapevine. *Zarjūn*, which Richardson cites in the same connection, also belongs to the vine rather than the palm; a fact understood from its derivation in the Persian *zargūn*, "color of gold", i. e. wine.

An offshoot high up on the trunk of the palm is called by the classical language *'āqqah* (the root means "to cut"); or *ṣunbūr*, from a root which means "[the palm] was solitary". An offshoot taken from the mother and planted is, in the classics, a *wādī* ("removed"), or *هَرَام* (Persian *هَرَم*). After being taken from the mother, but not yet planted, the offshoot is called *qal'ah* or *batīlah* or *rakzah*, the root meaning in each case being "cut off" or "detached".

A palm one year old is called a *khar'ab* (with numerous variations in spelling), but this word is not confined to palms, being common to all trees, and transferred to girls of tender years. *Shakir* designates a palm offshoot, or any other kind of shoot or sucker. *'Aṭīl* is said to have been used in al-Aḥṣā' (the ancient Hajar) to mean an offshoot, but I have found no

authoritative statement to this effect,<sup>1</sup> and if so used, it must have been a dialectal form. Among the classical names occasional found for the offshoot one may add *rīd* and *ja'lah*.

The offshoot is planted (*gharasa* is the customary verb, but in Arabian 'Irāq they now use *shatala*, a word of Aramean origin) in a hole which is classically called *faqīr*, but at present usually *fuqrah*. At Baghdād, and also in Egypt, I believe, it is called *hufrah*, both words meaning merely "excavation". At Biskra the regular word is *bi'r*, which properly means a cistern, but is sometimes used in the classical period in this connection. I believe the use of *hufrah* in this sense is not classical.

The palm plantation is called *nakhīl* in the Hījāz, and this appears to me to be the most elegant word. At Baghdād *bustān* is the usual term; although this Persian word properly refers to any kind of a garden. Around the Persian gulf the name *nakhlistān*, (Persian, "palm garden") is often heard. In Algeria they usually say *ghābah* "a forest", but the word *janīnah* (vulgar form of the classical *jannah*, a garden in general) is often used. In southern Tunisia, where the palm plantations are in hollows among the sand dunes, they are called *ghā'it*, or more often by the plural *ghītān*, "hollowed out". In Oman I was told that the plantation was designated as *maqṣūrah*, which means little more than "enclosure". In al-Baṣrah the Persian *baghchah*, "little garden", is used for a small plantation.

The literary language is much richer in terms of this sort, many of them figurative. *Hā'it* ("guarded"), *ḥaḍiqah* ("encircled"), *ḥishsh*, *'uqdah*, *ṣaur*, *ḥazīrah* ("an enclosure, a prohibited spot"), *أَيْكَة* ("a thicket"), *ṣarīmah* (regularly "a group of palms"), *manqabah* ("an enclosure"—rare), *jannah* "a garden", *dirham* (a synonym for *ḥaḍiqah*) are among the terms found. Richardson gives *bāḥah*, but as far as I know this applies only to the courtyard of a house. *Uljūm* is classical for "a large plantation of palms". *Jirbah*, meaning a cultivated field, is used by poetic license in some verses of 'Imru-l Qais to designate a palm plantation; the words *maghris* and *mizr'ah*, with similar meaning, are sometimes similarly applied.

<sup>1</sup> The authority cited by the native lexicographers is al-Azhari; see Lane s. v. نَكَل. ED.



As the two sexes are on different trees in the genus *Phoenix*, to which the date-palm belongs, cross-pollination must take place whenever fruit is produced, and the heredity of every date is therefore so mixed that when seeds are planted they rarely reproduce the desired type. Since the dawn of history, therefore, Arabs have propagated the palm ordinarily by offshoots, and rarely planted seeds. Seedling palms are to be found almost everywhere, but they are usually "volunteers", and Arabs in many districts seem scarcely to have a distinct name for them. Classically the word *daqlah* occupied this place, but nowadays it has been attached to so many good varieties, at present reproduced only through offshoots, that in nearly every district it has lost most of its original meaning. In Algeria *daqlat* [al-] *nūr*, ("the translucent seedling") is the finest date grown, and no one nowadays would think of propagating it from seed. The Algerians do not have any well-defined word for seedling, but in southern Tunisia the word *hishshān* (used in the Algerian Sahara for "offshoot") has that signification. In Arabian 'Irāq the word *daqal* is still used, but it carries two ideas, as it does also classically: (1) a palm produced from seed; (2) a palm of unknown variety. The Baghdādī usually designates a seedling explicitly as *tālah* *daqlah*. The unequivocal classical word is *jam'*, from the root "to gather together"; *sharbah* is a synonym; while *jathith*, sometimes designating an offshoot, may also designate a seedling. *Khud'ah* is another synonym, because the origin of a seedling is *humble*. The word 'ajamah or 'ajmah, from the root "to chew", apparently gets its application because the seed is the part of the fruit which one bites upon. In Egypt Schweinfurth found نقيلة الاويلة in use at el-Qoren to designate a seedling, while the natives of Assiut, Luxor and Qené said "*schett*". The poverty of this vocabulary strikingly reflects the state of mind of the oasis dweller, who hardly considers a seedling palm to be entitled to the name of date-palm.

*Tammuz and Osiris.*—By GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor  
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The parallel between the Semitic god Tammuz and the Egyptian Osiris is most complete.<sup>1</sup> Both were gods of life, and of vegetation; both cults were of wide popularity in different sections; with both there were connected myths of death and resurrection. Were the two cults connected or were they of independent origin? If of independent origin, why did they present so many points of similarity?

It is a favorite theory of the school of pan-Babylonians that the Osiris cult was borrowed from Babylonia. According to some it is the cult of Tammuz transferred to Egyptian soil;<sup>2</sup> according to others the cult of Marduk.<sup>3</sup> According to certain Sumerologists Tammuz was a deity of Sumerian origin, whose worship was adopted by the Semitic Babylonians, and from them spread to all the Semites.<sup>4</sup>

In 1902 the writer offered proof that the Ishtar-Tammuz cult was the one universal Semitic cult, that it was of Semitic origin, and that in Babylonia it mingled with Sumerian cults and became dominant among them.<sup>5</sup> Since that time this thesis has been strengthened by Eduard Meyer's proof in 1906 of the priority of the Semites in Babylonia,<sup>6</sup> which has since been amplified by the publication of Ward's *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, 1910, and proof from the Semitic norms of

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<sup>1</sup> See Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 2. ed., London, 1914; von Baudissin, *Adonis und Eshmun*, Leipzig, 1911, and Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, Oxford, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> Radau, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers*, in BE, XXX, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> So Jeremias, *Altes Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, 82; *Alt-orientalische Geisteskultur* 315f.

<sup>4</sup> Langdon, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious*, New York and London, 1902.

<sup>6</sup> *Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, Berlin, 1906.

Sumerian proper names.<sup>1</sup> The Semitic nature of Tammuz may therefore be assumed. It may also be assumed that the Ishtar-Tammuz cult originated in a desert-oasis civilization in which the environment led to the deification of life-giving water and the resultant vegetation.<sup>2</sup>

It has been assumed by some writers that the Egyptian race came into existence through the migration of Semites to Africa and the mingling of these immigrants with African tribes.<sup>3</sup> Such writers assume that Osiris was Tammuz carried to Egypt by these Semites and there baptized with a new name. If this theory were true, the brilliant study of Professor Breasted,<sup>4</sup> in which he has traced from the abundant literature, beginning with the material afforded by the Pyramid Texts, the gradual conquest of Egypt by Osiris, would be but the record of the triumphal progress of the Semitic god.

All questions of origins are difficult and obscure, and this is especially true in the case of nations like the Babylonians and Egyptians, who emerged from savagery before the beginning of writing, and whose earliest conceptions can only now be constructed from a few surviving clues. Before, however, the Asiatic origin of Osiris is accepted one ought to be satisfied on two points. 1. Do the linguistic phenomena of Egyptian resemble Semitic linguistic phenomena so much more closely than the linguistic phenomena of the Lybian, Berber, and Somali dialects do, that it is necessary to postulate a prehistoric invasion of Egypt by Semites to account for these phenomena? 2. Are the physical and economic conditions which surrounded these people in north Africa in primitive times so different from those that surrounded the Semites in Arabia that such a pair of deities as Isis and Osiris could not have originated there quite as well as Ishtar and Tammuz in Arabia? It is the purpose of this paper to discuss these two questions, and we address ourselves to the linguistic problem first.

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<sup>1</sup> See the writer's article "Religious Conceptions Underlying Sumerian Proper Names" in *JAOS*, XXXIV, 315f.

<sup>2</sup> See the writer's *Semitic Origins*, ch. III.

<sup>3</sup> So Breasted, *History of Egypt*, New York, 1909, p. 25 and Naville, *The Old Egyptian Faith*, New York, 1909, pp. 8—11.

<sup>4</sup> *The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1912.

Of all the parts of speech, pronouns are the most characteristic in any language. It is doubtful whether pronouns can be proved ever to have been borrowed bodily by one language from another.<sup>1</sup> The pronouns of the Semitic languages are as follows:—

Assyrian.	Syriac.	Aram.	Hebrew	Arabic	Ethiopic
1 c. <i>anāku</i>	'enā	' <sup>a</sup> nā	'ānōkī ' <sup>a</sup> nī	'ana	'ana
2 m. <i>atta</i>	'ant	'antā	'attā	'anta	'anta
2 f. <i>attī</i>	'antī	'antī	'attī	'anti	'anti
3 m. <i>šū</i>	<i>hū</i>	<i>hū</i>	<i>hū'</i>	<i>hūa</i>	<i>we'etu</i>
3 f. <i>šī</i>	<i>hī</i>	<i>hī</i>	<i>hī'</i>	<i>hīa</i>	<i>ye'eti</i>
Plural					
1 c. <i>anīni</i> <i>nīni</i>	'anaḥnan <i>h'nan</i>	' <sup>a</sup> naḥnā	' <sup>a</sup> naḥnū <i>naḥnū</i> ' <sup>a</sup> nū	<i>naḥnu</i>	<i>neḥna</i>
2 m. <i>attunu</i>	'antōn	'antūn	'attem	'antum	'antemmū
2 f. [ <i>attīna</i> ]	'antēn	'antēn	'attēn 'attēnnā	<i>antunna</i>	'anten
3 m. <i>šunu</i> <i>šun</i>	<i>hennōn</i> 'ennōn	<i>himmō</i> <i>himmōn</i>	<i>hēmmā</i> <i>hēm</i>	<i>hum</i>	'emüntū
3 f. <i>šina</i> <i>šin</i>	<i>hennēn</i> 'ennēn	<i>hennēn</i> 'ennēn	<i>hēnnā</i> <i>hēn</i>	<i>hunna</i>	'emāntū

Object forms in Babylonian Assyrian.

- 1 c. *yātu, yāti, yāši, aiši*
- 2 m. *kātu, kāti, kāša*
- 2 f. *kāti, kāši*
- 3 m. *šāšu*
- 3 f. *šāši*

<sup>1</sup> It is sometimes assumed by Hittitologists that Hittite borrowed from Babylonian-Assyrian the pronominal suffixes *šu* and *ša* (cf. R. C. Thompson in *Archaeologia*, second series, XIV, 59; cf. also Delitzsch, *Sumerisch-akkadisch-hettitische Vokabularfragmente*, Berlin, 1914, p. 40); but, if Hittite was an Indo-European language, as these scholars consider possible, the pronoun in the third person in *s* was not borrowed. Latin has *se*, Greek *ἐ* (where *s* has been thinned to *h*, represented by the rough breathing, in accordance with a well known law), Sanskrit has a third fem. pronoun *sa* (Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, Boston, 1879, p. 171), old Persian has a third personal pronoun which in the dative is *he*, the *h* an original *s* (A. V. Williams Jackson, *Avesta Grammar*, Stuttgart, 1892, §§ 394, 395). If, then, Hittite belongs to this group of languages, it has no need to borrow the Semitic Babylonian pronoun in *s*.

## Plural.

- 1 c. *niyati, niyašim, nāši*  
 2 m. *kātunu, kāšunu*  
 2 f. . . . .  
 3 m. *šāšunu, šāšun*  
 3 f. . . . .

If now for the moment we leave Egyptian out of account, the pronouns of the other Hamitic languages are as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

Tamešeq	Schilhisich	R'edamès
1 c. <i>nek, nekku</i>	<i>nki, nkin</i>	<i>nech, nechin</i>
2 m. <i>kai, kaiu</i>	<i>kii, kiin</i>	<i>chek, cheg</i>
2 f. <i>kem, kemmu</i>	<i>kimi, kimin</i>	<i>chem</i>
3 m. <i>enta</i>	<i>nta, ntän</i>	<i>nittou</i>
3 f. <i>entat</i>	<i>ntät</i>	<i>nittat</i>

## Plural

1 m. <i>nekkenid</i>	<i>nkunne</i>	1 c. <i>nalkenin</i>
1 f. <i>nekkenetid</i>	<i>nukenti</i>	
2 m. <i>kauenid</i>	<i>kunne</i>	<i>chekouin</i>
2 f. <i>kametid</i>	<i>kunemti</i>	<i>chekmetin</i>
3 m. <i>entenid</i>	<i>netni</i>	<i>entenin</i>
3 f. <i>entenetid</i>	<i>netenti</i>	<i>nitentin</i>

Bedaue	Somali	Galla	'Afar	Saho	Bilin	Chamir
1 c. <i>ani</i>	<i>an, ani</i> <i>aniya</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>anu</i>	<i>anu</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>an</i>
2 m. <i>barük</i>	<i>ad, adi</i> <i>adiya</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>attu</i>	<i>atu</i>	<i>inti</i>	<i>kut, küt, kit</i>
2 f. <i>batük</i>						
3 m. <i>barus</i>	<i>u, usaga</i>	<i>ini</i>	<i>ussuk</i>	<i>ussuk</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ien</i>
3 f. <i>batüs</i>	<i>ai, ayada</i>	<i>išin</i>	<i>issa</i>	<i>issi</i>	<i>niri</i>	<i>nir</i>

<sup>1</sup> This summary is based on the following works: Leo Reinisch, *Die Sprache der Irob-Saho in Abessinien*, Wien, 1878; his *Die 'Afar-Sprache*, Wien, 1887; his *Bedawye-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*, Wien, 1893; his *Bilin-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*, Wien, 1882; his *Chamir-Sprache in Abessinien*, Wien, 1884; Friedrich Müller, *Grundriß der Sprachwissenschaft*, III, Wien, 1884; H. Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilhisichen von Tazerwalt*, Leipzig, 1899; A. de C. Motylinski, *Le dialect berbère de R'edamès*, Paris, 1904.

## Plural.

	Bedaue	Somali	Galla	'Afar	Saho	Bilin	Chamir
1 c.	<i>hanan</i>	<i>anno</i>	<i>unu</i>	<i>nennu</i>	<i>nānu</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>yinne</i>
	<i>hanin</i>	<i>annaya</i>	<i>nu</i>				<i>yin</i>
	<i>hinin</i>						
2 m.	<i>barak</i>	<i>adin</i>	<i>izin</i>	<i>usunni</i>	<i>atin</i>	<i>intin</i>	<i>küten, kiten</i>
	<i>barakna</i>	<i>adinka</i>					<i>kütentag</i>
2 f.	<i>batak</i>						
	<i>batakna</i>						
3 m.	<i>baras</i>	<i>aiyyo</i>					
	<i>barasna</i>		<i>izan</i>		<i>ussun</i>	<i>naû</i>	<i>nay,nay-tay</i>
3 f.	<i>batas</i>						
	<i>batasna</i>	<i>aiyaga</i>		<i>ussun</i>			

The Egyptian has two pronominal systems, an older and a younger, which are as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

	Older Texts	Later Texts	Coptic
1 c.	<i>wy</i>	<i>'ink</i>	<i>anok</i>
2 m.	<i>tw</i>	<i>ntk</i>	<i>ntok</i>
2 f.	<i>tn</i>	<i>ntt</i>	<i>nlo</i>
3 m.	<i>sw</i>	<i>ntf</i>	<i>ntof</i>
3 f.	<i>sy</i>	<i>nts</i>	<i>ntos</i>
3 c.	<i>st</i>		
Plural.			
1 c.	<i>n</i>	?	<i>anon</i>
2 c.	<i>tn</i>	<i>nttn</i>	<i>ntōtn</i>
3 c.	<i>sn</i>	<i>ntsn</i>	?

An unprejudiced comparison of the above tables reveals the fact that the older Egyptian pronoun is no more Semitic than the later pronoun. Indeed with one exception the elements of this earlier pronoun all occur in similar positions in the Hamitic dialects. Their presence here argues, therefore, no more strongly for a Semitic than for a Hamitic origin. The one exception is the 1 personal pronoun *wy*, which finds its nearest parallel in the Babylonian *ya* of *yaši* or *ai* of *aīši*. Even if such remote resemblance as these pronouns present could be taken as proof of borrowing, there is no more reason to affirm that the Egyptians rather than the Babylonians were the borrowers. Indeed, if there be any kinship between them,

<sup>1</sup> Erman's *Ägyptische Grammatik*, 3te Aufl., Berlin, 1911.

it can only be that of a common ancestry in any early Hamito-Semitic stock, such as the writer predicated in his *Semitic Origins*, ch. I.

An examination of the verbs leads to a similar conclusion. It is well known that but two tenses are known to the Semitic languages,<sup>1</sup> one formed by affixing pronominal particles to a verb-stem, to express completed action, and one formed by prefixing pronominal particles, to express incomplete action. In the Arabic five forms of this second or imperfect stem are known, in Ethiopic and Assyrian two, while in Hebrew and Aramaic sporadic instances of a second form survive. In Babylonian-Assyrian the so-called perfect form—that which originally expressed completed action—has been relegated to the expression of states of being, and completed action is expressed by one of the imperfect forms. In other words, the Semitic Babylonian-Assyrian is an example of a language in which the so-called perfect form is in process of elimination.

In the use of these tenses the Hamitic languages differ. The Somali, Afar (Dankali), and Saho have preserved both the perfect made by affirmatives and the imperfect made by preformatives,<sup>2</sup> while the Galla has preserved only the perfect form, modifying it to express different shades of meaning,<sup>3</sup> and the Bedaue,<sup>4</sup> Shilḥish<sup>5</sup> and the R'edamès<sup>6</sup> have eliminated the perfect, as the Babylonian-Assyrian was doing, and express the various shades of thought by modifications of the imperfect form. The perfect form has, however, been preserved in certain Berber dialects, as for example, the Kabylee.<sup>7</sup> It would perhaps be more correct to say that those dialects which have lost the imperfect form have made forms for the expression of various shades of continuance and incompleteness by attaching to participles pronominal affixes after the analogy of the formation of the perfect. As the perfect itself was formed in the first place by the combination of pronominal suffixes with a verbal noun, the distinction is not a vital one.

If, now, we turn to Egyptian, we find in no stage of the language a form corresponding to the Hamito-Semitic imperfect.

<sup>1</sup> These tenses may be seen in tabular form in Zimmer's *Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, 112, 113.

<sup>2</sup> See F. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 291f.      <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Reinisch, *Bedaue-Sprache*, 141f.      <sup>5</sup> Stumme, *op. cit.*, 52ff.

<sup>6</sup> Motylinski, *op. cit.*, 28ff.      <sup>7</sup> Stumme, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

Like the Galla, all its verbal conjugations are made on the analogy of the Semitic perfect. One of these, the so-called pseudo-participle, is the survival of a real perfect. Its conjugation is as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

1 sg. <i>šedemkwy</i>	Plural 1 c. <i>šedemwyn</i>	Dual
2 m. <i>šedemty</i>	2 c. <i>šedemtywny</i>	
2 f. <i>šedemty</i>		
3 m. <i>šedemy</i>	3 m. <i>šedemw</i>	3 m. <i>šedemwyy</i>
3 f. <i>šedemty</i>	3 f. <i>šedemty</i>	3 f. <i>šedemtyyw</i>

This pseudo-participle is employed in the pyramid texts of the old kingdom as a transitive verb like the ordinary Semitic perfect. In the texts of the middle kingdom it has become an intransitive or passive. In the later Egyptian language it is often replaced by other constructions.<sup>2</sup>

The ordinary expression of thought in Egyptian is accomplished by a conjugation of the following norm the first element of which is a verbal noun:—<sup>3</sup>

1 sg. c. <i>šedemi</i>	plural 1 c. <i>šedemn</i>
2 m. <i>šedemk</i>	2 c. <i>šedemtn</i>
2 f. <i>šedemt</i>	
3 m. <i>šedemf</i>	3 c. <i>šedemsen</i>
3 f. <i>šedems</i>	

This conjugation expresses a future idea, "he will hear." By variations of this norm other shades of thought are expressed. *šedemenf* expresses the aoristic or past idea; *šedemwuf*, the passive; *šedemynf*, another passive; *šedemħarf*, a resultant action; *šedemk'f* expresses wishes. All these forms were, as Erman thinks,<sup>4</sup> formed by a combination of the participle with pronominal affixes and other particles (*n* and *ħr* appear to be prepositions), but they are all formed on the analogy of the Hamito-Semitic perfect.

If now we view this verb broadly, it affords no basis for the supposition that the pseudo-participle in Egyptian is due to Semitic influence. Had there been such influence it is difficult to explain why it should not have imparted to the Egyptians the Semitic imperfect as well as the Semitic perfect, for there is no early Semitic dialect from which the imperfect

<sup>1</sup> See Erman, *Ägyptische Grammatik*, 3te Aufl., § 326.

<sup>2</sup> See K. Sethe, *Das ägyptische Verbum*, Leipzig, 1899, II, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Erman, *op. cit.*, §§ 278—324.      <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 277.



is absent. The presence of the perfect form in other Hamitic dialects and the analogy of the Galla language show that what we see in the Egyptian is a development without parallel in the Semitic languages, but which has a parallel in Hamitic. The imperfect has entirely vanished; the perfect is in process of elimination through the instrumentality of a participial conjugation.

Again, if we turn to the larger question of verbal stems, the result is the same. There are indications in Coptic that certain Egyptian stems formed an intensive by doubling the middle radical after the analogy of the Arabic II<sup>nd</sup> stem and the Hebrew Piel. Instances of this have survived in Coptic.<sup>1</sup> This formation has survived in the Berber dialect of R'edamès, where it is employed to express habitual action,<sup>2</sup> and in Bilin<sup>3</sup> and Chamir<sup>4</sup>, where it expresses intensity as in Hebrew by doubling the middle radical and by forming, in the case of short stems, Pilpels.

Again, Egyptian forms a passive conjugation by prefixing the letter *n* after the manner of the Hebrew Niphal, the Arabic VII<sup>th</sup> stem and the Assyrian IV<sup>th</sup><sup>5</sup> stem, but *n* is similarly employed in Saho<sup>6</sup> and the Shilhish dialect.<sup>7</sup> In Tamesheq<sup>8</sup> and the dialect of R'edamès<sup>9</sup> the *n* is changed into *m* (in most groups of languages the two letters sometimes interchange) as it does also sometimes in Bedauey<sup>9</sup> and in Saho.<sup>10</sup> In Bilin the *n* in such formations changes to the kindred liquid *r*,<sup>11</sup> but the formation is present in that dialect.

The Egyptian also forms a causative in *s* like the Semitic,<sup>12</sup> but this has parallels in Bedauey,<sup>13</sup> Bilin,<sup>14</sup> Chamir,<sup>15</sup> Saho,<sup>16</sup> Tamesheq,<sup>17</sup> R'edamès,<sup>18</sup> and Shilhish.<sup>19</sup> None of these formations, therefore, can be attributed to Semitic influence.

<sup>1</sup> Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 344.

<sup>2</sup> Motylinski, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Reinisch, *Bilin-Sprache*, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Reinisch, *Chamir-Sprache*, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> Erman, *op. cit.*, § 271, and Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 357.

<sup>6</sup> Reinisch, *Saho-Sprache*, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Stumme, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>8</sup> F. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

<sup>9</sup> Motylinski, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>10</sup> Reinisch, *Bedauey-Sprache*, p. 130.

<sup>11</sup> Reinisch, *Bilin-Sprache*, p. 27.

<sup>12</sup> Erman, *op. cit.*, § 270; Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 350.

<sup>13</sup> Reinisch, *Bedauey-Sprache*, p. 126.

<sup>14</sup> Reinisch, *Bilin-Sprache*, p. 22.

<sup>15</sup> Reinisch, *Chamir-Sprache*, p. 46.

<sup>16</sup> Reinisch, *Saho-Sprache*, p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> F. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

<sup>18</sup> Motylinski, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>19</sup> Stumme, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

One other line of evidence may be adduced—the evidence of vocabulary. Erman many years ago<sup>1</sup> had collected a list of fifty or more words which were identical in Egyptian and Semitic, and no doubt his later investigations have increased the list.<sup>2</sup> Many of these may be genuine Semitic loan words in Egyptian. At least, so far as the present writer has been able to test them by comparison with the vocabularies of other Hamitic languages, it appears that those languages employed non-Semitic roots in place of most of these words. In employing the evidence of loan words, however, three things should be borne in mind. Some of these Semitic words were introduced into the Egyptian vocabulary as late as the Hyksos period or later, long after the worship of Osiris was well established in Egypt. We have the Egyptian vocabulary of many centuries ago, but the vocabularies of the other Hamitic languages for modern times only. In all languages words become obsolete as time passes and drop out of use. This may explain the absence of some of these words. The borrowing of a word is among all peoples a much more simple process than the borrowing of a deity, and, even if a considerable number of Semitic words were borrowed, it does not follow that Osiris was borrowed, unless there is some other proof.

The linguistic phenomena already considered indicate that there is a real kinship between the Hamitic and the Semitic peoples, and suggest that Osiris may be as original a product of the Egyptian religious genius as Tammuz was of the Semitic religious genius. Wiedemann, de Morgan and Erman hold that Arabia was the original home of the Hamito-Semitic race, from which the Hamites migrated to Africa.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand Palgrave, Bertin, Nöldeke, Jastrow, Keane, N. Schmidt, and the present writer have thought that the cradle land of these peoples was North Africa, from whence the ancestors of the Semites migrated to Arabia.<sup>4</sup> On whichever hypothesis one works, he has a common origin for the two peoples, and in all probability a common origin for the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ZDMG*, XLVI, 1892, 107—126.

<sup>2</sup> See Erman, *Ägyptisches Glossar*, Berlin, 1904, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to the references cited in *Semitic Origins*, p. 8, see Erman's *Ägyptische Grammatik*, 3te Aufl., Berlin, 1911, § 1.

<sup>4</sup> See references in *Semitic Origins*, pp. 6—8.

two gods quite apart from any theory of borrowing. In either case both peoples originated in a desert-oasis environment peculiarly favorable for the organization of matriarchal clans. Both peoples were forced by their hard environment from savagery into barbarism at a relatively early stage of the world's history. Similar physical environment would induce both peoples to deify the power of fertility, and the similar social organization of both peoples would lead them in the first instance to regard the deified pair as mother and son, or brother and sister. As the social organization was transformed to the patriarchal the relation would be changed to that of husband and wife. In the myths that have grown about both the Semitic and the Egyptian pair we find evidence of both relationships.

It now seems fairly well made out that Ishtar was a universal Semitic goddess, i. e., that each early Semitic tribe had its Ishtar.<sup>1</sup> It is also probable that her male counterpart was also to be found among all the Semites, although he was not like the goddess universally known among all the Semites in the historical period by the same name. Thus among the Babylonians he was called Dumuzi, corrupted by the Hebrews to Tammuz, by the north Arabians he was called Dhu-l-Sharā, and by the Phoenicians Eshmun and Adonis.<sup>2</sup> Now it might well happen that a pair of deities of fertility was worshipped by each of the Egyptian tribes that resided in each of the forty-two nomes of primitive Egypt, or in a majority of them, and that other epithets displaced in most cases the common name by which the deities in earlier time had been called. Indeed it is possible that among the Hamites there never was, as among the Semites, one universally employed name. The facts for Egypt are these. Osiris was worshipped at two nomes, Dedu, in the Delta, afterward called Busiris, and at Abydos, the capital of the nome of This in Upper Egypt. Egyptologists detect at Abydos the presence of another deity, whom Osiris displaced. This god was Khenti-Amentiu, "First

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<sup>1</sup> Paton in the articles "Ashtart" and "Ishtar" in Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vols. II and VII, holds as the writer did in *Semitic Origins* that this is made out.

<sup>2</sup> For the Phoenician deities Graf von Baudissin's fine volume *Adonis und Eshmun* reinforces the earlier arguments of the present writer in *Semitic Origins*, 265 ff.

of the westerners.”<sup>1</sup> We also hear of a god Enhör of This.<sup>2</sup> Must not these gods have been kindred to Osiris? Had that not been the case is it probable that he would have displaced them? Isis was the goddess of Philae,<sup>3</sup> but she was also the mother of Horus, the local god of Edfu,<sup>4</sup> whom she is pictured as suckling in the marshes<sup>5</sup>—a striking parallel to the Semitic myths of Ishtar and Tammuz. Egypt possessed also many other deities of fertility. There was the god Min of Koptos who was so intensely a god of fertility that he is usually pictured, as on the walls of the temple of Hatshepsut at Der el-Bahri, with phallus erect. There were Horus of Edfu, Atum of Heliopolis, and Amon of Thebes, who became sun-gods as expressions of the fact that they were gods of fertility. There was the goddess Opet, who presided over childbirth, and was in some places revered as the mother of Osiris. Hathor of Dendera and Aphroditopolis and Bast of Bubastis were goddesses of love and fertility.<sup>6</sup> They were usually pictured as nude, and lewd ceremonies were celebrated in honor of Bast at her festivals.<sup>7</sup> Hierodouloi existed in connection with the worship of the god Ptah of Memphis. When one takes into consideration all these facts, and remembers that Isis was a water goddess, and that Osiris is sometimes a water god and sometimes a god of vegetation, it seems difficult to escape the conclusion that this pair, like the other Egyptian deities named, are developments from primitive Hamitic gods and goddesses of fertility, which in origin and nature were similar to the primitive gods and goddesses of the Semitic peoples. If this be true, Osiris and Tammuz are but special independent survivals and manifestations of a primitive cult once common to both Hamites and Semites. This in our present state of knowledge seems at least a more plausible and historical view than to suppose that the Osiris cult was borrowed from Semites or from Babylonia.

<sup>1</sup> Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, 38, 143.

<sup>2</sup> Steindorf in Baedeker's *Egypt*, p. cxxvi.      <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. cxxvii.

<sup>4</sup> Steindorf, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 107, and *Egypt*, p. cxxvi.

<sup>5</sup> Erman, *Ägyptische Religion*, Berlin, 1905, p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> Erman, *Ägyptische Religion*, 2 ed., pp. 200, 239.

<sup>7</sup> Herodotus, II, 60, and *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics*, VI, 676a.

*The Eastern Iron Trade of The Roman Empire.*—By  
WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Secretary of the Commercial  
Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.

In that encyclopedia of the Roman Empire compiled by the elder Pliny under the title of "*Historia Naturalis*", there is a passage about iron in the 39th book which deals with metals and metallurgy, paragraph 15, as follows: "Of all the kinds the palm is to the Seric iron. The Seres send this with their textile fabrics and skins. The second place is to the Parthian, and there are no other kinds of iron which are tempered into the true steel for they are mixed with other elements".<sup>1</sup> Although in Pliny's "*Natural History*" there are several references to the Seres and a very full account of the mining and smelting of iron in all parts of the world that were in communication with Rome, there is no other passage in that work in which the Seres and iron are brought together, nor is there in any other work that survives to us from the Roman and Greek period anything to connect the people known as the Seres with the production of or trade in iron. Yet upon this slender authority rests the assumption that steel was brought overland to imperial Rome from far-away China. It may be worth while to consider this question in some detail, and in so doing it seems clear that we shall be forced to conclude that the exportation of iron and steel by the central Asian caravan routes from China to Rome was most improbable, and that this chance reference in Pliny's text to the Seres involves a double confusion, and refers neither to the silk traders of Chinese Turkestan, nor to the silk trade itself.

The subject is of some present interest because by no less

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<sup>1</sup> Ex omnibus generibus palma Serico ferro est. Seres hoc cum vestibus suis pellibusque mittunt. Secunda Parthico, neque alia genera ferri ex mera acie temperantur, caeteris enim admiscuntur.

an authority than our much-respected fellow-member, Professor Hirth, it has been said: "We know that the iron industry of China assumed important dimensions during the following centuries. Chinese iron must have been of very superior quality, since not only the countries of central Asia drew their supplies from the far East, but even the Roman market, as is known from Pliny, who says that of all kinds of iron coming to Rome, the Chinese (*Sericum Ferrum*) is the best".<sup>1</sup> Again, in Rockhill's introduction to Professor Hirth's splendid edition of the mediaeval Chinese *Chau Ju-Kua*, it is said: "The first accurate information concerning China was supplied by the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, writing somewhere about 80 A.D. Although the author of the *Periplus* knew little of China's position, he supplied other reliable information concerning it. We learn from him that already things from there came from a city in the interior of that country, from which silk, both raw and spun into thread and woven into fine stuff, also furs and iron, were brought overland through Bactria, to various points on the western coast of India".<sup>2</sup> So too in *China and the Roman Orient* it is said: "Pliny speaks of iron and skins as articles imported from the Seres". Then follow several references to Chinese records, notably a list of trade products from Ma-Tuan-Lin, with the remark that "This list may give us an idea what goods may be drawn from the Chinese market provided there was demand for them in the West";<sup>3</sup> although it is to be noted that the Ma-Tuan-Lin list as quoted does not include iron.

Swank, in his *Iron in all Ages* quotes the reference from Pliny with the observation that "This early reference to Chinese steel is historically very important".<sup>4</sup> Then in so thorough a reference work as Speck's *Handelsgeschichte des Altertums* it is said: "Ausser Seide kamen noch Felle oder Tierhäute und vortreffliches Eisen aus China nach Indien".<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, in another great monument of Chinese research, Richthofen's *China*, which deals at length with the trade and trade routes between China and Mediterranean lands, the passage in Pliny above quoted receives only passing reference,

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient History of China*, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> *Chau Ju-Kua*, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 225—26.

<sup>4</sup> P. 10.

<sup>5</sup> III 2. B., p. 935.

and his mention of iron is entirely ignored, the chapter being devoted mainly to an examination of the silk trade.<sup>1</sup>

It involves no denial of the early development of the iron industry in China to confess a doubt that Chinese iron found its way overland to Rome. The Chinese Annals contain many very important references to this industry. It is notable, however, that while in Professor Hirth's earlier work, *China and the Roman Orient*, he lays some stress on the iron industry of northwestern China,<sup>2</sup> in his more recent work, *Ancient History of China*, he emphasizes rather the iron industry and the extensive government control thereof in the kingdom of Ts'i,<sup>3</sup> which is known to us of this day as the Shantung Peninsula on the eastern coast of China; that is, we should be obliged to assume not only the carriage of that iron across the central Asian desert, but actually across the entire land area of the Celestial Kingdom. We should be compelled also to account for the production of an unusually fine grade of native steel in China, whereas the passages quoted from the Chinese Annals refer to the industry as important because of its producing the household utensils and agricultural implements required by all citizens, and therefore easily taxed and monopolized by the Government. We are certainly led to infer from Professor Hirth's quotations that bronze long remained the metal preferred for edged tools, iron not having been tempered to such a point as to hold the required edge.<sup>4</sup> And it is my impression that fine iron-working in China is of relatively recent development.

Something of the relative value and extent of distribution of Chinese iron may be gathered from Professor Hirth's *Chau Ju-Kua*,<sup>5</sup> in which it appears that traders from Chinese ports to foreign countries took iron to Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Java, the Philippine Islands, Hai-nan and Formosa; but this iron consisted apparently of pots, censers, tripods, coarse needles and utensils, whereas particular reference is made in that very text to the excellence of the iron swords and other weapons produced in India, which apparently found their way to the same markets that took the coarse utensils

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. I. ch. 10.

<sup>2</sup> P. 226.

<sup>3</sup> P. 204.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient History of China*, p. 235.

<sup>5</sup> *Chau Ju-Kua*, 1, 7. 10, 14. 15, 21, 38. 40. 43. 46.

of Chinese iron.<sup>1</sup> Again we get some idea of the value of Chinese iron in the travels of the Chinese Buddhist I-tsing at the end of the 7th century. In his account of a visit to the Nicobar Islands, which he calls the "country of the naked people", he says: "When the natives saw our vessel coming they hurriedly embarked in little boats, their number being fully a hundred. They brought cocoanuts, bananas and things made of rattan cane and bamboo and wished to exchange them. What they are anxious to get is iron only. For a piece of iron as large as two fingers one gets from five to ten cocoanuts".<sup>2</sup> A similar account we find in Reinaud's compilation of the early Arab voyages: "When a ship passes near, the men come out in boats of various sizes and barter ambergris and cocoanuts for iron".<sup>3</sup>

These are indications merely, but they suggest a manufacture of iron for domestic uses and not of the highest quality, certainly not of value sufficient to carry the cost of the tremendous journey across the Asiatic continent from northeastern China to the Levant, rather more than 5,000 miles.

From the Geography of Ptolemy we have a fairly trustworthy story of the silk caravans which traveled this ancient trade route, quoted from Marinus of Tyre, who gave the personal account of a Macedonian silk merchant named Maes, according to whom the silk traders left the Bay of Issus in Cilicia, crossing Mesopotamia, Assyria and Media to the Caspian Gates, thence through Parthia, Hyrcania, Aria and Bactria; thence through the "mountainous country of the Comedi and through the territory of the Sacae to the Stone Tower, the station of the merchants who trade with the Seres; thence to the Casii and through the country of the Thaguri until after a seven months' journey from the Stone Tower the merchants arrive at Sera metropolis".<sup>4</sup> Under ordinary conditions, therefore, the entire journey between the Mediterranean and the Chinese capital of Singan-fu, (which is about 500 miles further west than the iron country of Shantung), would have

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 15, 21.

<sup>2</sup> I-tsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*, Takakusu's ed., page xxx.

<sup>3</sup> *Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine, dans le IX<sup>e</sup> Siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, I, 8.

<sup>4</sup> I, 11. 4—7.



taken the better part of a year in either direction. The camels and the drivers and the merchants must all eat, the "great kings of kings" and the lesser potentates through whose dominions they passed must all receive their tribute, and it is self-evident that the iron which to the sea-traders yielded five cocoanuts for two fingers' weight could not stand the cost of that great overland journey to Rome. The greatness of the cost appears in all the contemporary accounts of the silk trade. In the time of the Emperor Aurelian we learn that silk was worth its weight in gold, and that he neither used it himself, nor allowed his wife to possess a garment of it, thereby setting an example against the luxurious tastes that were draining the Roman Empire of its resources.<sup>1</sup> During the reign of Tiberius the Roman Senate had enacted a law "that men should not defile themselves by wearing garments of silk",<sup>2</sup> and Pliny speaks of it as "among the most valuable productions in the world",<sup>3</sup> and vigorously declaims against the great drain on Roman resources by the export of specie in return for these luxuries of the East.<sup>4</sup> The high cost was the natural result of the long overland journey and the systematic manner in which the trade was monopolized.

That the so-called Seres, who forwarded the silk to Rome, were not dealers in iron is clear also from other Roman descriptions of that people. Pliny himself speaks of them as "famous for the wool that is found in their forests", by which mistaken reference he means their silk. "They are", says he, "of inoffensive manners, shun intercourse with the rest of mankind, and wait the approach of those who wish to traffic with them".<sup>5</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus gives us a more trustworthy account.<sup>6</sup> East of Scythia is "a ring of mountains which surround Serica, a country considerable both for its extent and for the fertility of its soil. This tribe on their western side border on the Scythians, on the north and east they look towards snowy deserts, toward the south they extend as far as India and the Ganges . . . . The Seres themselves

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11<sup>th</sup> ed., xxv, 97.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 33.

<sup>3</sup> XXXVII, 67.

<sup>4</sup> VI. 26.

<sup>5</sup> VI, 20. Compare Vergil, *Georgics*, II, 131: "Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres".

<sup>6</sup> XXIII, 6.

live quietly, always avoiding arms and battles; and as ease is pleasant to moderate and quiet men, they give trouble to none of their neighbors. Their climate is agreeable and healthy; the sky serene, the breezes gentle and delicious. They have numbers of shining groves, the trees of which through continued watering produce a crop like the fleece of a sheep, which the natives make into a delicate wool, and spin into a kind of fine cloth, formerly confined to the use of the nobles, but now procurable by the lowest of the people without distinction. The natives themselves are the most frugal of men, cultivating a peaceful life, and shunning the society of other men. And when strangers cross their river to buy their cloth, or any other of their merchandise, they interchange no conversation, but settle the price of the articles wanted by nods and signs; and they are so modest that, while selling their own produce, they never buy any foreign wares”.

The location of this land of the silk traders is thoroughly identified with the modern Sarikol in the Chinese Pamirs above Khotan and Kashgar,<sup>1</sup> the Casii of Ptolemy, and it will be observed that there is not the slightest reference to any trade in metals, only in silk.

If now we refer to the *Periplus*, which has been quoted by Mr. Rockhill as authority for a Chinese iron trade, we find that its only references to iron are the following:—in paragraph 6, which contains an account of the import trade of Adulis, the Red Sea port of Abyssinia, we find included: “Iron, which is made into spears used against the elephants and other wild beasts, and in their wars”;<sup>2</sup> while in the same paragraph it is said: “Likewise from the inland regions of Ariaca there are imported Indian iron and steel”.<sup>3</sup> The same imports are noted at other seaports of the Horn of Africa. Turning now to the exports of India we find in the list of goods shipped from the mouths of the Indus, silk, precious stones, indigo, drugs and aromatics, but no iron; and in its account of the foreign trade from China in paragraph 64 the *Periplus* mentions silk, but has no reference to iron. It

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<sup>1</sup> Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 67—68.

<sup>2</sup> σιδηρος ὁ δαπανώμενος εἰς τε λόγχας πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα θηρία καὶ τοὺς πολέμους.

<sup>3</sup> Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔσω τόπων τῆς Ἀριακῆς σιδηρος Ἰνδικὸς καὶ στόμωμα.

speaks of the city of Thinae, doubtless the "Sera metropolis" of Ptolemy, the great capital of Singan-fu, "from which raw silk and silk yarn and silk cloth are brought on foot through Bactria to Barygaza".<sup>1</sup> That is, in the only references contained in the Periplus to the iron and steel trade, it is distinctly referred to India and not to China.

We get the same negative indication from the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, who refers, in his 11th book on commercial matters, to China only as "Tzinista which sends silk cloth", no reference being made to iron.<sup>2</sup>

For the importation into the Roman world from some Eastern source of the finest grade of steel then known, there is ample evidence, and it all points toward central India and not China. *Ferrum Indicum* appears in the list of articles subject to duty at Alexandria.<sup>3</sup> Indian iron and steel appears in the Periplus among the imports into Abyssinia, and from this text, as I have elsewhere pointed out,<sup>4</sup> we get a curious indication of a long-standing trade monopoly, under which certain products of India in large demand in the Mediterranean world were handled only by South Arabian merchants and were not offered to ships of Roman registry which succeeded in finding their way to India. This was the case notably with cinnamon, which the Romans knew only as a product of the Horn of Africa, whither Arab and Tamil vessels brought it from Malabar, but where it never grew. And in the case of this Indian steel, the author of the Periplus locates it at the Red Sea port of destination, but fails entirely to mention it as an export of India. The South Arabian kingdoms seem to have separated the trade according to ports. The Himyarite port for general trade was Muza, but another port, Ocelis, was reserved for the vessels arriving from India, which the Periplus tells us was "not a market town, but the first landing for those sailing into the Gulf";<sup>5</sup> and Pliny says that "Ocelis

<sup>1</sup> ἄφ' ἧς τό τε ἔριον καί τὸ νῆμα καί τὸ ὀδόνιον τὸ Σηρικόν εἰς τὰ Βαρύγαζα διὰ Βάκτρων περὶ φέρεται.

<sup>2</sup> *Topographiae Christianae* XI, 337: καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ Τζίνιστα τὴν μεταξὺ βάλλουσα· ἧς ἐνδοτέρω, οὐκ ἔστιν ἑτέρα χώρα· ὁ Ωκεανὸς γὰρ αὐτὴν κυκλοῖ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς.

<sup>3</sup> Rescript concerning Eastern Trade in the *Digest of the Roman Law*, XXXIX, 15, 5—7.

<sup>4</sup> Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* 88—89, 216—216.

<sup>5</sup> οὐχ οὕτως ἐμπόριον ὡς ὁρμος καὶ ὕδρευμα καὶ πρώτη καταγωγή τοῖς ἔσω διαίρουσιν.

was the most convenient port for those coming from India",<sup>1</sup> and that the other chief ports, Muza and Cana, "were not frequented by Indian travelers, but were only for the merchants dealing in frankincense and Arabian spices". So effective was this trade understanding between the Arab and Dravidian merchants that the Roman vessels reaching the Malabar coast were permitted to trade in the cinnamon *leaf* as a product of that coast, but were not supplied with cinnamon *bark* that came from the same tree. Some indication of this trade we get also from the account of Phoenician commerce in Ezekiel: "Dan also and Javan going to and fro occupied in thy fairs; bright iron, cassia and calamus were in thy market".<sup>2</sup> We have here the same combination of Eastern iron and cinnamon as products passing through the hands of South Arabian merchants.

Early metallurgists knew little of artificial alloys, and the quality of their metals depended on the character of the ores they used and the effectiveness of their primitive methods of smelting. In Egypt, for instance, we find that some iron was produced from the native ore by smelting with papyrus, but the industry disappeared at an early date when it met the competition of better metals from Asia Minor derived from magnetic sand and forest timber, and from Elba, Spain and the Alps, where rich ores were also found together with ample timber. The Roman Empire had an abundant supply of ordinary iron from within its own borders, and its imports of that metal were limited to qualities beyond its own ability to produce. This iron which it imported from the East, as has been ascertained from examination of existing specimens, was really a good grade of charcoal steel yielded by native processes jealously held secret and unknown to the Romans.

Herodotus, in his catalogue of the troops of Xerxes, says that "The Indians were clad with garments made of cotton, had bows of cane and arrows of cane tipped with iron".<sup>3</sup> Ctesias mentions two wonderful swords of Indian steel had from the King of Persia,<sup>4</sup> and it is recorded also that the Malli and Oxydracae made a gift to the victorious invader Alexander of 100 talents of Indian steel.<sup>5</sup> Salmاسius, in his

<sup>1</sup> VI, 104.

<sup>2</sup> XXVII, 19.

<sup>3</sup> VII, 66.

<sup>4</sup> Müller's Ctesias, p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> Curtius, IX, 24.

notes on Pliny, refers to an early Greek chemical treatise on "The Tempering of Indian Steel",<sup>1</sup> and Colonel Yule, in his notes on Marco Polo, has traced this trade from source to destination.<sup>2</sup> It was this same Indian steel which was used in the manufacture of the famous Damascus blades of the Arabs in the height of their prosperity, and which was regarded as essentially a different metal from ordinary iron, being called by the Arabs *Hundwānī*, "Indian", whence the curious word "Andanic" or "Ondanique" of the mediaeval writers, the fine steel used for swords and mirrors. Cordier notes that this "Hindi" metal used for mirrors has passed into Spanish in the form of *alhinde* and *alinde*, first with the meaning of steel, then that of steel mirror, and finally with that of any metallic foil for making mirror-glass. From a modern Spanish dictionary I note the erroneous definition, *Alinde*, (obsolete) "quicksilver for mirrors"; meaning, of course, nothing more than "Indian metal". So the word "hint" or "al hint", Cordier notes, is used in modern North African dialects for steel, confirming again the statement of the Periplus that it was Indian steel which found its way to the African ports, and thus passed into their language. The Arab, Edrisi, says: "The Hindus excel in the manufacture of iron. They have also workshops wherein are forged the most famous sabers in the world. It is impossible to find anything to surpass the edge that you get from Indian steel".<sup>3</sup> So Chardin says of the steel of Persia, "They combine it with Indian steel, which is more tractable, and is much more esteemed".<sup>4</sup> Dupré says, "I used to believe that the steel for the famous Persian sabers came from certain mines in Khorasan, but according to all the information I have obtained, I can assert that no mine of steel exists in that province. What is used for these blades comes in the shape of discs from Lahore".<sup>5</sup> Yule quotes an interesting distinction made by Avicenna, who makes a threefold classification of iron:<sup>6</sup> 1st. That which is good for striking or bearing heavy strokes

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<sup>1</sup> *Exercitationes Plinianaë*, II, 763.

<sup>2</sup> Under Book, I, ch. 17.

<sup>3</sup> I, 65—66.

<sup>4</sup> Cordier's Ed. of Yule's Marco Polo, I, 94.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* id.

<sup>6</sup> *De Animâ*, book V.

(used for hammers and anvils). 2nd. That which is purer, better adapted to take an edge and to form cutting tools, but not malleable. (Steel). 3rd. Andena. Less known, he says, among Latin nations, the special character of which is that, like silver, it is ductile under a very low degree of heat.

Marco Polo, in his account of Persia, speaks of Kermán as "A kingdom having plenty of veins of steel and ondanique; the people are very skillful in making harness of war; their saddles, bridles, spurs, bows and quivers, and arms of every kind are very well made indeed according to the fashion of those parts".<sup>1</sup> Cordier identifies these mines with the Parpa iron mines on the road from Kermán to Shiráz,<sup>2</sup> which are no longer worked, and Pottinger names steel among the imports into Kermán from India,<sup>3</sup> bringing us back again to the statement of Pliny that the first in quality was the "iron of the Seres, and the second that of Parthia", both of which were doubtless used by the armorers of the Levant.

The making of steel in early India has been very fully described, the methods ascertained and the sources of the industry located. A limited quantity was made in the southern Dravidian kingdoms, but the best and most plentiful supply, and that which was in constant demand from the Roman times through the middle ages and down to the British occupation of India, was that produced in Haidarábád. The method of smelting was practically the same throughout India. According to Watt's "Economic Products of India",<sup>4</sup> there was a furnace built of clay three or four feet in height, more or less conical in form, with an orifice near the bottom, stopped with clay during the blast, and through which the bloom was removed at the end of the operation. Clay tubes inserted near the base conveyed the blast from two skin bellows worked alternately by hand, so as to keep up a continuous stream of air. The fuel used was charcoal from native timbers without flux, and after the furnace had been sufficiently heated, the ore, sometimes in the form of natural magnetic sand gathered from the beds of streams, but more commonly after having been pounded from rock ores to small fragments or coarse powder, was sprinkled in at the top in small quantities

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<sup>1</sup> I, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Cordier's ed. of Yule's Marco Polo I, 93.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., I, 94.

<sup>4</sup> IV, p. 502.

at frequent intervals, alternating with native charcoal, to keep the charge nearly level with the top of the furnace. From time to time during the operation, which lasted several hours, the slag was removed through a hole which was then stopped with clay. The bloom produced was a pasty mass of malleable iron containing a good deal of slag, which was removed by immediate hammering. The expenditure of charcoal by this method was very great in proportion to the result—as much as fourteen tons of fuel, according to Mr. Ball, having been used to one ton of finished iron, and a large proportion of metal remained in the slag. Recent examination of ores thus used show that a magnetite containing 72% of metal yielded only 15% of its weight in bar iron. The amount of iron produced, as Mr. Ball remarked, “bore but a miserable proportion to the labor, time and material expended”. The bellows varied in form and size, but were usually made from goat skins or bullock hides and worked by hand. This labor, which was tedious and most exacting, apparently required more than one man to the blower, and there are curious pictures of recent steel-making by this primitive process showing the laborer pulling away at the cord, with the necessary extra weight provided, hours at a time, by the laborer's wife standing behind him with her arms thrown around his body.

In the production of Indian steel, which was known in modern times as “wootz”, the iron which was smelted from magnetite, as already described, was refined by repeated heatings and hammerings and formed into bars measuring about  $12' \times 1-1/2'' \times 1/2''$ . These were cut into small pieces, a number of which, aggregating perhaps two pounds in weight, were packed closely in a crucible, together with about a tenth part of dry wood chopped small, the whole being covered over with one or two green leaves, and the mouth of the crucible filled up with tempered clay rammed close. Some two dozen such crucibles were built up in the form of a conical arch in a small furnace which was lighted, the blast kept up for about 2-1/2 hours, when the crucibles were removed, cooled and broken and the cakes of steel shaped according to the bottom of the crucible, taken out. These cakes were then heated several hours at a temperature just below their melting point, turned over in the current of air from the bellows, the object being to eliminate excess carbon and

thus to produce the low fusing point already noted by Avicenna. When this operation was completed the cakes were ready for the market in circular form, or else were hammered out into short stout bars and so were sold to the traders.

The crucibles were made of a refractory red loam largely mixed with dry rice husk. The wood used was that of *Cassia auriculata*, and the leaves those of *Asclepias gigantea*, or *Convolvulus laurifolia*.

In some parts of India the ores used contained a small percentage of manganese, and some of the black sand consisted apparently of titaniferous magnetic oxide, either of which would produce a native steel; but those of central India were principally a rock magnetite, and according to the above description, the steel produced was evidently a good grade of charcoal crucible steel ("cement steel"). Dr. Ball quotes a number of recent observers of the Haidarábád steel production, who tell of regular visits to the furnaces by Persian traders from Ispahan, who were in the habit of going backwards and forwards with the steel, and who, while making their purchases, personally superintended the operations, weighing the proportions of iron and testing the toughness of the steel. One such trader said that in Persia the same processes had been tried, but that the same quality of steel could not be produced from their ores.<sup>1</sup>

The French gem merchant, Tavernier, who traveled India in the 17th century, mentions this steel industry in the "Kingdom of Golconda", and remarks: "They carry a broad sword like the Swiss, with which they both cut and thrust, and they suspend it from a belt. The barrels of their muskets are stronger than ours, and the iron is better and purer. This makes them not liable to burst. As for the cavalry, they have bow and arrow, shield and mace, with helmet and a coat of mail".<sup>2</sup> We are thus carried back by recent travelers both to the iron-tipped Indian arrows of Herodotus, and to the "bright iron" of Ezekiel brought by merchants "going to and fro".

It is sufficiently evident from these references that the fine iron of the Roman trade was Indian steel; and it remains to

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<sup>1</sup> *Manual of the Geology of India.* Part III, ch. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Travels in India.* Ball's ed., I, 157.



examine and interpret the vague references in Pliny to that trade. We must assume a time when all foreigners were considered as barbarians, and the exact location of their countries was a matter of little interest or importance. The silk traders, the people of Chinese Turkestan and the Pamirs, played an important part in the Eastern trade of Rome, and were correctly located and described as *Seres*. A totally different people, but of a name reducible to a similar Latin form, was also in active communication with the Roman Empire. These were one of the Tamil kingdoms of southern India—the *Chēra*, whose kingdom appears in the *Periplus* as *Cerobothra*, and whose chief port, *Muziris*, the modern Cranganore, was an active center of shipping from Arabia and Roman Egypt. Much of the Roman knowledge of India came apparently from Ceylon, and in Sinhalese the Tamil *Chēra* became *Sēri*. Pliny clearly refers to this people in his account of the trade of Ceylon with the “*Seres*” where he says: “Their accounts agree with the reports of our own merchants, who tell us that the wares which they deposit near those brought for sale by the *Seres*, on the farther bank of a river of their country, are removed by them if they are satisfied with the exchange”.<sup>1</sup> In this passage there is both truth and confusion, the *Chēra* ports being located along a chain of thoroughfares, some on the beach and some on the mainland side, but the description being confused apparently with the Pamir river valley of the silk merchants.

While some of the Indian steel might have been shipped through the *Chēra* ports, it is probably true that most of it went through the port of *Barygaza* on the Gulf of Cambay, being carried thither by the overland trade route that traversed the great dominions of the *Andhra* dynasty, “the inland regions of *Ariaca*” of the *Periplus*, thence proceeding westward in native or Arab, and not in Greek or Roman shipping. The product was probably then, as in recent times, bought at the furnaces and the profits of the trade were great enough for the buyers to keep in full for themselves without dealing through third parties. In any case the total amount shipped westward from India must have been small indeed. In the accounts of early 19th century travelers given us by Ball and

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<sup>1</sup> VI, 22. Cf. Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 209.

Watt, it is indicated that a single furnace might produce no more than a couple of hundred-weight of steel in a year, and 200 tons per year would probably be an outside figure for this export trade.

The various references to the Seres in the Roman writers cannot be harmonized for any one people, and it is certainly an unnecessary interpretation to identify them with the Chinese, or to transfer the "Seric iron" to China. I have already indicated that the Indian steel, although mainly an Andhra product, was attributed by the Romans to the Chēra Tamils, and then confused with the Seres of Turkestan; and I will close with a further identification of one of these ubiquitous Seres, not heretofore made, so far as I am aware. We have the connection through the Greek antiquarian Pausanias, who, after describing the Seres and the silk culture of China and Turkestan, says: "The island of Seria is known to be situated in a recess of the Erythraean Sea. But I have heard that the island is formed, not by the Erythraean Sea, but by a river called the Ser, just as the Delta of Egypt is surrounded by the Nile and not by a sea; such, also, it is said, is the island of Seria. Both the Seres and the inhabitants of the neighboring islands of Abasa and Sacaea are of the Aethiopian race; some say, however, that they are not Aethiopians, but a mixture of Scythians and Indians".<sup>1</sup> These Seres, from Pausanias' own description, we are forced to transfer to the southern coast of Arabia, and to identify their island with that mentioned in the *Periplus* as Sar-apis,<sup>2</sup> and still known as Mo-seir-ah; and the origin of the name we must refer to the ancient Arab tribe of Ausar, Ausal or Ausan, whom some of the writers on Arabian geography would identify with Uzal, son of Joktan of Genesis X, and more certainly at any rate with the port of Ocelis or Cella, already mentioned as the terminus of the Arab trade with India, and with the modern Zeila on the African side of the Straits. The glimpse of this island given by Pausanias is extremely interesting. The word Aethiopian, instead of having the wide significance now given it, seems to have meant,

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<sup>1</sup> *Descriptio Graeciae*, VI, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Νῆσος Σαράπιδος λεγομένη . . . οἰκεῖται δὲ κόμῃσι τρισὶ καὶ ἀνθρώποις πονεροῖς Ἰχθυοφάγων· γλῶσση δὲ Ἀραβικῇ χρώνται καὶ περιζώμασι φύλλων κουκίνων.

as Glaser showed, no more than "incense gatherer", and referred specifically to the tribes dwelling on either shore of the Gulf of Aden.<sup>1</sup> The "neighboring islands of Abasa and Sacaea" are the modern Kuria Muria, "Abasa" being the same tribe-name as "Abyssinian". The coming of the Scythians and Indians followed the Indian conquests by the Asiatic invaders at the epoch of Kanishka. We have a similar account in the description of the island of Socotra in the Periplus, where mention is made of a mixture of Arabs and Hindus and Greeks.<sup>2</sup> This people of Ausar at some period of Arab history, which we may perhaps place not later than the 7th century B. C., apparently dominated not only all south Arabia, but the opposite side of the Gulf of Aden and much of the east African coast. We have a reference to them in the Periplus which refers to this coast as far as Zanzibar under the name of "Ausanitic".<sup>3</sup> Glaser, in interpreting South Arabian inscriptions discovered by him, indicates that the power of Ausan, like that of the later South Arabian tribes, was derived from their trade in incense, aromatics and oriental products, for which they found markets in Egypt, Syria and Babylonia, and that the power of Ausan was succeeded in order by those of Kataban, Saba and Himyar;<sup>4</sup> and the Periplus gives another interesting glimpse of these struggles in South Arabia, where, describing the present Zanzibar coast, it states that it was governed by Himyarite Arabs "under some ancient right that subjects it to the sovereignty of the state that has become first in Arabia".<sup>5</sup>

We therefore gather that the Seres of the Romans were as ubiquitous as Prester John of the mediaeval Europeans, whose kingdom was located anywhere from the mountains of Abyssinia to the wastes of Mongolia; and it is not necessary

<sup>1</sup> *Itiopyavan*, from *atyôb*, incense: *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, pp. 10. 27.

<sup>2</sup> § 30: εἰσι δὲ ἐπίκειροι καὶ ἐπιμκτοὶ Ἀράβων τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν πρὸς ἐργασίαν ἐκπλεόντων.

<sup>3</sup> § 15: μετὰ δύο δρόμους νυχθημέρους πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν Αὐσανιτικὴν ἥλιον ἢ Μενουδαῖος ἀπαντᾷ νῆσος.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, VI—IX. *Punt und die süd-arabischen Reiche*, pp. 16—18.

<sup>5</sup> § 16: Νέμεται δὲ αὐτὴν, κατὰ τι δίκαιον ἀρχαῖον ὑποκείμενους τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῇ τῆς πρώτης γνωμένης Ἀραβίας, ὁ Μαφαριτικῆς τύραννος.

for us to carry the iron-trading Seres of Pliny to far-away China over a difficult, dangerous and expensive land-caravan route, when we know that Indian steel reached the Roman world by ocean-going sailing vessels, and that along that cheap and easy ocean route there dwelt at least two peoples, one in western India and the other in southern Arabia, to whom the name "Seres" was confusedly applied.

*Studies in the Veda.*<sup>1</sup>—By FRANKLIN EDGERTON, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

#### 4. Chāndogya Upaniṣad 6. 2.

The first part of this section, whose interpretation is not open to serious question, may be translated as follows:

‘The existent only, my dear, was this universe in the beginning—quite alone and without a second. Now some say: the non-existent only was this universe in the beginning, quite alone and without a second, and from this non-existent the existent was born.

‘But how, in sooth, my dear, could this be? said he, How could the existent be born from the non-existent? No; the existent only, my dear, was this universe in the beginning, quite alone and without a second.

‘It desired: May I become many, may I be propagated. It produced heat (*tejas*). This heat desired: May I become many, may I be propagated. It created waters ...’

Then comes a sentence which I interpret thus, differing from all previous interpretations: ‘Therefore wherever it is hot, there a man swets, on account of the heat; as a result thereof (i. e. of the heat) waters are produced’.

After this the section closes with another statement whose interpretation is likewise clear enuf in general:

‘These waters desired: May we become many, may we be propagated. They produced (solid) food. Therefore wherever it rains, just there is the most food, on account of the waters; as a result thereof (i. e. of the waters) edible food is produced’.

The point of my new interpretation of the sentence about the production of waters from heat is the perfect parallelism

<sup>1</sup> The first three studies in this series were published in the *American Journal of Philology*, XXXV, 435ff., under the following titles: 1. The instrumental with verbs of ruling, AV. 4. 27. 4, 5.—2. AV. 4. 5. 7 = RVKh. 7. 55. 1.—3. *Apaskambhā*, AV. 4. 6. 4.

in external form between it and the following one about the production of food from waters. This parallelism has never been noticed by any commentator, and as a result all have totally failed to get the point. It seems to me, however, so obvious that it only needs to be pointed out to be recognized. To make it clear I think I shall only need to quote the Sanskrit of the two sentences, side by side. For convenience I divide them into separate clauses or phrases, lettered a, b, c and d.

- (a) { 1. *tasmâd yatra kva ca çocati* —  
2. *tasmâd yatra kva ca varṣati* —
- (b) { 1. *svedate vâ puruṣas* —  
2. *tad eva bhūyishṭham annam bhavaty* —
- (c) { 1. *tejasa eva* —  
2. *adbhya eva* —
- (d) { 1. *tad-adhy âpo jâyante*.  
2. *tad-adhy annâdyaṃ jâyate*.

Observe how perfectly the parallelism works out. Wherever so and so happens (a), then such and such a result is observed (b)—precisely on account of so and so (c, resuming a), for as a result thereof (*tad-adhi*) such and such is produced (d, resuming b). Again I say, I do not see how it is possible to question the parallelism, once it is pointed out. What has thrown the commentators off is the word *vâ*, in the phrase *svedate vâ puruṣas*. This word ordinarily means 'or', and is so taken here by all interpreters, thus making 'b' a correlative statement to 'a', and throwing out the parallelism completely. But *vâ* obviously cannot mean 'or' in this sentence. It would be comparatively simple to emend it to *vâi*, or to *eva* (*svedata eva* becoming corrupted to *svedate vâ*), either of which would make perfect sense; and it may be said in favor of the latter suggestion (the reading *svedata eva*) that it would make a more perfect parallel with 'b' of the parallel sentence, which is likewise connected with the preceding by *eva* (*tad eva bhūyishṭham* &c.). But no emendation is necessary. The particle *vâ* may be used precisely in the sense of *eva*: see the Petersburg lexicon s. v., meaning 4, and the places there quoted. At any rate, whether the reading *vâ* be kept or not, it seems to me there can be no doubt whatever of the meaning of the particle which originally stood here: it was simply a particle of emphasis, and did not mean 'or'.

The interpretations of Max Müller, Boehtlingk and Deussen, all of whom were misled by the word *vâ*, ar as follows. Müller: 'And therefore whenever anybody anywhere is hot and *perspires*, water is produced on him from fire alone'. Boehtlingk: 'Deshalb entsteht, so oft ein Mensch Kummer hat oder schwitzt, aus der Glut Wasser'. Deussen: 'Darum wenn ein Mensch die Glut des Schmerzes fühlt oder schwitzt, so entsteht aus der Glut das Wasser (der Thränen, des Schweisses)'. It will be noted that both Boehtlingk and Deussen absolutely ignore the important *tad-adhi*. Max Müller takes it as meaning 'on him', i. e. 'on the man'. All of them ignore the obvious parallelism with the following statement.

### 5. Chândogya Upaniṣad 6. 14.

This section contains the beautiful simile of the man brot to a strange land and left blindfolded to wander about aimlessly, until some one removes his eye-bandage and tells him in which direction to go; then he finds his way home. Just so a man in this world who has not received the true instruction in Upaniṣadic philosophy wanders about aimlessly, his mental eyesight dimmed by the eye-bandages of ignorance, until a teacher removes the bandage of ignorance and tells him in what direction to shape his life's course; then he will arrive at his true goal.

Tho the general sense of the passage has been correctly grasped by all interpreters, so far as I know, it seems to me that all their interpretations are open to objection in certain details.

I render the passage thus:

'As if, my dear, one should bring hither a man from the land of Gandhâra, with eyes bound tight, and should then turn him loose in a desert place; [as he would then drift about, eastward, or northward, or southward, having been brot hither blindfold, and having been turned loose blindfold];

'As if one should free him from the bandage (over his eyes), and should tell him: In this direction is the land of Gandhâra, go in this direction; he would ask (the way) from village to village, being a wise and intelligent man, and would actually arrive at the land of Gandhâra. Just so a man who has an instructor in this world knows. There is delay for

him only for so long a time as he is not freed (from the bonds of ignorance): then he will arrive (at his final goal).

*Notes.* (a) The sentence which I hav enclosed in [square brackets] above, in my translation, reads in the Sanskrit thus: *yathā tatra prāñ vā, udāñ vā, adharāñ vā, pra dhmāyīta, abhinaddhākṣa ānītaḥ, abhinaddhākṣo viśṛṣṭaḥ*. No one seems ever to hav explaind why only three directions—east, north and south—ar mentioned. Why not *west* too? Does it not mean that he would drift in *any and every* direction? So many readers must hav thot, among them one Hindu copyist, who inserts *pratyañ vā* ‘or westward’ after the words *adharāñ vā* ‘or southward’, to make it complete; and so likewise Boehtlingk, whose unimagnativ rationalism is carried one step further, for he inserts *pratyañ vā* between north and south, so as to hav the four directions in perfect order—east, north, west, south. These insertions simply spoil the sense of the passage. If Boehtlingk and his Hindu predecessor had stopt to think where the land of Gandhāra is, they would never hav made such a blunder. Gandhāra is the farthest *western* limit of Indian civilization, and if the blindfolded Gandhārese went westward, and kept it up long enuf, he would arrive at his own home. That is not contemplated by the simile. There ar of course three chances to one that he would go in some other direction; and it is this probability of error that the passage emfasizes when it says he would go ‘eastward, or northward, or southward’.

(b) The verb *pra dhmāyīta* in this connexion certainly means ‘be blown about (as by a wind)’, ‘drift’. Deussen comes closest to being right: he translates it ‘verschlagen’, that is ‘start in the wrong direction’. Max Müller ‘shout’, so Hillebrandt Ved. Chr. ‘laut ausrufen’; Boehtlingk ‘sich aufmachen’, apparently getting pretty close to the idea but not quite grasping it. The meaning seems to be made clear by the use of the activ of the same verb *pra-dham* in A.V. 18. 2. 28, *āgniṣ tñ asmāt prā dhamāti yajñāt*, ‘Agni shal blow them away (scatter them) from this sacrifice’, and A.V. 3. 2. 2 *prā vo dhamatu sarvātāḥ* ‘Let him blow you forth (scatter you) in every direction’. Whether the form *pra dhmāyīta* be taken as middle (as Whitney Gr. 738b takes it) or as passiv (as I should prefer to take it, with reference to the *y*; the ending *-īta* is no more irregular in one case than in the other), it evidently means



something like 'be blown forth, be made to drift helplessly'. Certainly Müller and Hillebrandt are wrong in taking it as a verb of shouting—all the more since the following words, which they regard as a direct quotation depending thereon, are provided with no *iti* or other sign of quotation.

(c) The last sentence of the passage translated is in the Sanskrit: *tasya tavad eva ciram, yâvan na vimokṣye, atha sampatsya iti*. 'Of him so long only is (or, will be) there delay (longness), as he shall not be released (i. e., until he shall be released); then he will arrive'. The verb *saṃ-pad* parallels *upa-saṃ-pad*, which is used above of the man from Gandhâra 'arriving' finally at Gandhâra. So here, the enlivened man will 'arrive'—the destination being left to be supplied; it means, of course, he will 'arrive' at his true final goal in life, as taught by the Upaniṣadic philosophy. Max Müller translates: 'For him there is only delay so long as he is not delivered (from the body); then he will be perfect'. This translation is not very far wrong; only it is from 'the bonds of ignorance', which keep him from seeing clearly, like the blindfolded man in the parable, that he is to be freed, rather than 'the body'; and 'be perfect' for *saṃ-pad* fails to bring out the idea of 'arriving', 'attaining', which as I said is clearly contained in the verb. The other translators are farther from the mark. Deussen, whose filological sense is usually so keen, makes the bad mistake of failing to see that *tasya*, the first word, refers back to *puruṣa* in the preceding sentence (*evam evahūcārjyavān puruṣo veda*). He makes the whole depend on the preceding *veda*, as a direct quotation of the man's thought, and renders: 'Diesem (Welttreiben) werde ich nur so lange angehören, bis ich erlöst sein werde, darauf werde ich heimgehen'. I do not see how *tasya* could mean 'diesem Welttreiben'; that would be at best *asya*, and rather harsh at that.

That the word *ciram* may be a noun is shown by Pāṇini 6. 2. 6. It appears to mean 'delay', i. e. delay in getting started in the right direction (keeping still in mind the parable of the blindfolded man).

Deussen's 'erlöst werden' for *vimokṣye* (similarly also Boehtlingk) is a little too strong. It does not refer to final salvation, in the usual later sense; that is rather meant by *sampatsye* in this sentence. Instead it refers, as I said, to being 'released' from the blinding bandage of ignorance, so that one

can hav clear intellectual vision; only after this happens can one *start* in the direction of final salvation or 'attainment'. The parable of the blindfolded man is kept constantly in view, and the parallelism with it is scrupulously close. All translators hav faild to do justis to this circumstance.

## 6. Chāndogya Upaniṣad 6. 16.

The parable containd in this section is that of the trial of a man accused of theft, by the ordeal of the heated ax.

'Also they lead along a man, my dear, with hands tied, saying: He has stolen, he has committed theft, heat the ax for him. If he is the doer of it, then indeed he makes himself false; covering himself with falsehood (*anṛtābhisamḍho*), enwrapping himself in falsehood (*anṛtenātmānam antardhāya*), he takes holds of the heated ax; he is burnt, then he perishes.

'Then if he is not the doer of it, then indeed he makes himself true; covering himself with truth (*satyābhisamḍhaḥ*), enwrapping himself in truth (*satyenātmānam antardhāya*), he takes hold of the ax; he is not burnt, then he is releast.'

It seems to me that the term *abhisamḍha*, used as the final member of the compounds *anṛtābhisamḍha* and *satyābhisamḍha*, must mean 'covering', 'that with which one covers'. The frase is thus a synonym for the following *anṛtenā-(satyenā)-tmānam antardhāya*. This expressing of the same idea in juxtaposed doublets is one of the most familiar stylistic tricks of the Upaniṣads; it occurs, for instance, in this same section, in the first sentence: *apāhārṣīt, steyam akārṣīt*—'he has stolen, has committed theft'.

The word is generally taken as meaning 'speech, declaration' or the like: Deussen, 'Unwahres aussagend'; Boehtlingk, 'indem er eine unwahre Aussage macht'. Max Müller says, a little differently: 'the false-minded'. But the picture is of a *covering* by which the man seeks to protect himself from damage by the heated ax. If the covering he uses is falsehood, it is useless; he is burnt. If it is truth, then it protects him from the burning ax. The verb *abhi-dhā* regularly has this meaning, and the derivativ of *abhi-sam-dhā* is here used in the same sense. According to the most usual meaning of *abhi-sam-dhā*, the word ought to mean 'purpose, intent'; but this is a long way from 'pronouncement, declaration', the meaning

assumed by Deussen and Boehtlingk, and not too close to Müller's 'mind'; and while wickedness of intention might have been predicated of the *prospectiv* thief, it is much less natural of the man who is about to submit to the ordeal.

It is interesting to observe that in the Rāmāyaṇa (5. 51. 21 Gorresio) practically the same compound occurs which is found in our Upaniṣad passage, viz. *satyābhidhāna*, 'encased in righteousness'. Very significantly, as it seems to me, it is here also used with reference to virtue as a protection from the heat of fire; namely, it is applied to Sītā, who, it is alleged, will be safe from the devouring flames started by Hanumat to destroy Rāvaṇa's city, because of her spotless virtue—because she is 'enwrapt in righteousness'.—There are two other occurrences in the Rāmāyaṇa (1. 6. 5 and 5. 30. 7, Gorresio) of the compound *satyābhisandha*—this time the very same form as that found in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad; but in both cases the word is a mere colorless epithet of King Daśaratha, and the context furnishes no evidence as to the real meaning.

*Relations of Shah Abbas the Great, of Persia, with the Mogul Emperors, Akbar and Jahangir.*—By CLARA CARY EDWARDS, New York City.

Abbas the Great came to the throne of Persia in 1586. He found his country in that condition of anarchy which in a despotic state is the invariable accompaniment of any weakening of the central power. In the ten years which had passed since the death of his grandfather, Shah Tahmasp, two kings, one a drunkard, the other blind, had seen their great kingdom become an agglomeration of petty principalities which acknowledged no allegiance to the Shah: everywhere khans, tribal chiefs, provincial governors had set themselves up as independent kings and princes.

Not only was Persia riven by internal quarrels; she was attacked by foes from without. A country holding the faith of the Shiah Moslems, she was surrounded by Sunni Mohammedans, who were ever ready to make difference of creed an excuse for aggression. The Uzbeg Tartars on the North-East held the province of Khorasan in constant dread of their fierce raids. They were pensionaries and dependents of the Turks, and were bound to them by an agreement which provided that whenever the Turkish army should be engaged in war in Europe, the Tartars were to harass Persia and prevent the country from feeling the relief of peace<sup>1</sup>. On the North-West, the one-time Persian provinces of Shirvan and Daghestan had been held by the Turks since the days of Suleiman the Magnificent, and Turkish armies were now waging victorious war in Azerbaijan.

Under these circumstances, it required no great political instinct for the king to see the wisdom of keeping in friendly relations with Akbar, the Sunni emperor of India, especially as that emperor had brought India to a height of power and

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<sup>1</sup> Sherley, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, v. 2, bk. 9, p. 1390.

prestige never known before. Fortunately, it was not difficult. Akbar had already shown that he had no desire to add Persian provinces to his territory. Only half a dozen years before the accession of Abbas, he had replied to the ruler of Turan, who sent an envoy with a proposal that they should join forces against the King of Persia: "that the Persian royal family and his own had always been on friendly terms, and he did not consider differences of law and religion as sufficient ground for a war of conquest."<sup>1</sup>

Shah Abbas even hoped that the good feeling of his brother emperor would lead him to restore to the Persian king the city and province of Kandahar, in accordance with an old promise.<sup>2</sup> Kandahar, a small city in itself, was by its position a place of real importance. Lying on the main trade-route between India and Persia, it was a focus of all the direct routes converging from the western frontier of India towards Herat and Persia; and the fortress of Kandahar, which in the hands of the Indian king would form an excellent base for an army of invasion, would, in the possession of Persia, lend security from attacks by way of the South. Abbas was not sufficiently powerful in the early years of his reign to press his claim to this stronghold, once the property of his family. He had patched up a temporary peace with the Turks, leaving in their hands all the territory they had conquered, and he was engaged in bringing order out of the chaos in Persia.<sup>3</sup> One by one, the rebellious princelings were being subdued; some to be treated with harsh severity, others with a clemency surprising in a Persian monarch. It must have galled him, when he was thus engaged in civil wars, to hear (1593) that the Persian prince of Kandahar, who had been holding the province as a tributary of Akbar, had definitely made over the place to the Indian emperor, receiving in exchange the Subah of Multan and other dignities.<sup>4</sup> Of such value was Akbar's promise!

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<sup>1</sup> *Akbarnama*, v. 3, p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> The promise was made by Akbar in 1558. See *Akbarnama*, v. 2, p. 121. He renewed at that time a promise originally given by Humayun, but never carried out.

<sup>3</sup> One curious provision of the treaty of peace with the Turks was that the Persians should no longer have the right to curse the first three Caliphs.

<sup>4</sup> *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 257, note.

There are, unfortunately, very few references in contemporary documents to the relations between Abbas and Akbar. Those which we have show that the relations continued friendly, in spite of the Kandahar incident. Sir Anthony Sherley, writing from Persia in about 1599, mentions that sixteen slaves had been sent as a present by the Great Mogul to Abbas.<sup>1</sup> A little later, he writes:—"The Great Mogul, King of Lahore, sent a great ambassador to desire a marriage between his eldest son's daughter and Cephir Mirza (Safi Mirza), eldest son to the King of Persia, with a mighty present, and as mighty offers, both of ready money, and to pay 30,000 men in any war which the King of Persia should undertake for seven years."<sup>2</sup> Sherley does not tell us how this embassy was received, but it must have been welcome. Shah Abbas would feel that he was receiving a slight and partial return for the loss of Kandahar.<sup>3</sup> The Persian king must have sent return embassies to the Indian court, but all we know of them is that on one occasion he sent Akbar, among other "fitting gifts", a horse so fine that it continued to be the best in the royal stables until Jahangir gave it away as a mark of his special favor, two years after his accession.<sup>4</sup>

Concerning the diplomatic passages between Abbas and Jahangir, who came to the throne of India in 1605, we have more sources of information. The most valuable is Jahangir's diary, kept with his own hand;<sup>5</sup> and for amplification and comment on this, we have the writings of a number of European travellers to India and Persia. Among these, the most notable are Sir Thomas Roe, English ambassador to the court of the Great Mogul, and the letters of that most careful observer and delightful *raconteur*, the Italian Della Valle, who spent ten years in travel in Turkey, Persia and India. From these sources we may acquire a knowledge which, although fragmentary, is sufficient to give us a clear idea of the dealings between the two courts and of the reception and treatment of ambassadors.

<sup>1</sup> Sherley, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, v. 2, bk. 9, p. 1402. These slaves were stopped and held by the Governor of Hormuz.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. 2, bk. 1, p. 1406.

<sup>3</sup> In sending this embassy, Akbar followed his usual policy of conciliating a ruler from whom he had taken territory.

<sup>4</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 142.

<sup>5</sup> I have used throughout the translation by A. Rogers, edited by H. Beveridge. 2 volumes, London, 1909 and 1914.

At this time, there was constant intercourse between the inhabitants of the two countries. The trade-route from Lahore to Ispahan by way of Kandahar was a well travelled highway, in spite of its difficulties and dangers.<sup>1</sup> Five months were required for the journey, but time counts for little in the East. According to one contemporary estimate, the long track over mountain and desert was paced yearly by from twelve to fourteen hundred camels, carrying loads of indigo, sugar, spices, cotton cloth, and the like.<sup>2</sup> The trade in turbans alone was considerable, for all the turbans used in Persia were imported from India.<sup>3</sup> Della Valle notes that there was a very large number of Hindoo merchants living in Ispahan, many of whom were in business there as permanent residents.<sup>4</sup> In India the Persian language was the speech of the Mogul's court and largely of his army;<sup>5</sup> two of his intimates were the Persian scholars Faizi and Abu-l Fazl; and many of his best soldiers and officers were Persian by birth.<sup>6</sup>

The rulers of two countries so closely bound by ties of language and commerce could not ignore each other. To Jahangir there were only two monarchs who could even pretend to an equality with himself—the Persian Shah and the more

<sup>1</sup> An ambassador of the Shah to India experienced its dangers in 1620. He was robbed by the Afghans and all his suite were taken prisoners. He alone escaped and arrived empty-handed at the Indian court. Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 208—209.

<sup>2</sup> See letter from Richard Steele to the East India Company, in *Register of Letters of the East India Company, 1600—1619*, p. 459. De Laet says of Kandahar: "Hic continuo commercia exercentur e Persia, India, Mesopotamia, e reliquis partibus orientis; nam septem aut octo millia camelorum in ambitu aluntur ad merces ultro citroque devehendas." —De Laet: *Persia, seu regni Persici status*, p. 286.

<sup>3</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 833.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 1, p. 485.

<sup>5</sup> *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, Hak. Soc., p. 97; Herbert, *A Relation of Some Yeares Travaile*, p. 36. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Shah's soldiers were many of them Turks, and Turkish was the language of his court and army. Cf. Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 507.

<sup>6</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 41; Herbert, p. 36; Terry, *A Voyage to East India*, p. 121. The Persian soldiers had gained by their bravery such a reputation for their king that it became a custom in India, if a man did a very valiant thing, to call out "Shah Abbas!", as much as to say that it was done as well as the Persian king himself could have done it. Terry, p. 152.

distant ruler of Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> The Persian, who lived the nearer his own territory, was in his eyes the more important. Indeed, by the time of Jahangir's accession, Shah Abbas had won for himself boundless fear and respect in his own country and fame throughout the civilized world.<sup>2</sup> He had effectually put down rebellion in Persia and had brought that country to a state of order and safety which astonished European travellers.<sup>3</sup> He had renewed the wars with Turkey and had already won back much of the lost territory. He was a personality not to be disregarded by the Indian Emperor. Nevertheless, the kingdom of Persia, strong and united as he had made it, was far inferior in wealth, splendor, and population to that of the Great Mogul. If Jahangir must consider with respect the military preparedness of Persia, Abbas, in his poorer country, could not afford to endanger the immense economic advantages which he derived from Indian trade. In character the two monarchs were so different as to make any sympathy or understanding out of the question. Abbas, the warrior, scorned the effeminate and luxury-loving Indian; while Jahangir, naturalist and patron of the arts, despised the roughness and ignorance of the Persian king. Outwardly they displayed great respect and affection for each other; but with all their protestations of friendship, Jahangir always tried to place the Persian at a disadvantage, and Abbas never forgot the sting of the loss of Kandahar. To more than one European observer the secret enmity between the monarchs was apparent.<sup>5</sup>

Diplomatic representation of each ruler at the court of the other was necessary. And besides the exchange of formal embassies, it was the custom, when a prominent merchant started off with a large caravan, to send by him a letter and

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<sup>1</sup> *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, Introd. p. XXIX. Jahangir's journal makes frequent mention of Persian ambassadors, but makes absolutely no direct allusion to the English ambassador.

<sup>2</sup> Della Valle and Cartwright both note that the most binding form of an oath for a Persian was to swear by the head of Shah Abbas. And if one man wished well to another, he would say: "May Shah Abbas give you your desires." Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 445; Cartwright, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, v. 2, bk. 9, p. 1433.

<sup>3</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 447-448; Cartwright, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, v. 2, bk. 9, p. 1431.

<sup>4</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 405.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 11.



a present to the sovereign of the country he was visiting.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the merchants would be commissioned to buy some particular object for their masters. Again, the king would send out an agent to buy him curios and rarities, much as museums do now. Jahangir gives an amusing account, recorded below, of the return of one such messenger, who had been sent to Persia and Constantinople to bring back jewels and curiosities.

This agent had paid his respects to the Shah, to whom he had presented a letter from Jahangir. At the Shah's request, he had shown him a list of the things he was to buy for his sovereign. The Shah, seeing that on the list were entered good turquoise, and *mumiya* (bitumen) from the mines in Ispahan, said that these two things were not to be bought. He would send them as presents. He therefore sent six bags of turquoise earth and a little *mumiya*, as well as four horses, and he wrote a letter containing "many, many expressions of friendship," in which he made many apologies for the inferior quality of the turquoise and the small quantity of *mumiya*. The turquoise earth proved indeed to be poor, since not a single stone could be had from it worthy of setting in a ring.<sup>2</sup> The *mumiya*, which was in those days considered a wonderful remedy, proved equally disappointing. Jahangir writes:—

"With regard to the effect of the *mumiya* I had heard much from scientists, but when I tried it no result was apparent. I do not know whether physicians have exaggerated its effect or whether its efficacy had been lessened by its being stale. At any rate, I gave it to a fowl with a broken leg to drink, in larger quantity than they said and in the manner laid down by the physicians, and rubbed it on the place where it was broken, and kept it there for three days, though it was said to be sufficient to keep it from morning to evening. But after I had examined it, no effect was produced and the broken place remained as it was."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jahangir mentions receiving and sending several such messages. See *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 310; v. 2, pp. 2 and 24.

<sup>2</sup> When Jahangir's letter was presented to Abbas, the Persian king was at Meshed, near which are situated the famous turquoise mines of Nishapur. I believe that it would have been easy for the king to send good turquoise from these mines, had he wished to do so. The sending of a very polite letter and of inferior stones was quite consistent with the rest of Abbas's policy towards Jahangir.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 238.

The first mention of the King of Persia in Jahangir's journal has to do with Kandahar. A Persian force under the chief of Seistan had attacked the city, with the aid of the Governor of Herat. Jahangir, when he heard of the attempt, sent out an army to defend the place. The attack, he naïvely relates, was made entirely without the knowledge of the King of Persia, who, when it came to his ears, despatched an envoy to the Persian leader commanding him to withdraw.

"What seeker of occasion and raiser of strife," stormed Abbas, "has come against Kandahar without my order! . . . . If they by chance should have taken the country into their own possession, they should hand it to the friends and servants of my brother Jahangir Pādshah and return to their own abodes."<sup>1</sup>

The Persians obediently retreated, and the envoy went on to Jahangir's court to offer apologies from his master. "He explained that the ill-fated army which had attacked Kandahar had acted without the order of Shah Abbas. God forbid (he said) that any unpleasantness should remain in my (i. e. Jahangir's) mind."

It is a little difficult to explain this incident satisfactorily. The suggestion that Shah Abbas did not know of the expedition against Kandahar may be dismissed at once as most improbable. Perhaps he believed that the Governor of the city would be overawed by the sight of an army and would surrender without delay; in which case he may have thought that Jahangir would not consider the position worth fighting for, once it had passed out of his hands. Or, possibly, he had no intention at that time of taking the city, but merely wished to make a demonstration, in order to call the matter to Jahangir's notice. This would be a typically Persian manner of dealing with the affair. For a Persian, the indirect method is always the best method.<sup>3</sup> Jahangir would understand this, and he can have had no illusions about the love borne him

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., v. 1, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., v. 1, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> If, for instance, a Persian wishes to sell you a piece of land, he does not approach the transaction in the crude, unimaginative way common in Western countries. He sends you word that your horse has trampled down his crops, or he removes the land-marks between his property and yours, or in some other such subtle way brings the matter to your attention.

by Shah Abbas. But he chose to accept the explanation as it was given, and if Abbas had expected him to present him with Kandahar, he was disappointed.

He showed his displeasure at Jahangir's neglect in this matter by refraining for some years from sending an ambassador to his court. Perhaps he thought that the Indian might after all give up Kandahar if he saw that Abbas's mind was really set on having it. At all events, it was not until 1611, six years after Akbar's death and Jahangir's accession, that an ambassador arrived with the Shah's condolences for the one and congratulations for the other. He brought "good horses, cloth stuffs, and every kind of fitting present," together with a letter in which the Shah apologized for not having offered his congratulations earlier, saying that because of his war with the Turks some delay had taken place in the "accomplishment of this important duty." The war with the Turks may have seemed to Jahangir an insufficient excuse for failing to despatch an envoy; but he accepted the letter with much apparent satisfaction and gave its bearer "a superb robe of honour and thirty thousand rupees."<sup>1</sup> He took his revenge for the tardiness of the ambassador's arrival by keeping him a long while at court. Two years later he mentions him as the recipient of a gold mohur on New Year's day.<sup>2</sup> That the ambassador did not willingly make this long stay, in spite of occasional gifts, may be inferred from a letter written by an agent of the East India Company, in September 1613, who says: "Jahangir keepeth here two of the Emperor of Persia's ambassadors<sup>3</sup> and will neither dispeed them nor license their departure, whereupon is likely to be wars between them. The Emperor of Persia demands Sinde (sic) to be given him, which the king will not grant."<sup>4</sup>

The Mogul finally gave the necessary permission, however, and friendly relations were continued between the two countries by means of frequent missions.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 193—196.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. 1, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> Only one is mentioned in Jahangir's journal.

<sup>4</sup> *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East*, v. 1, p. 278. The writer would seem to refer to the question of Kandahar, not to Sind.

<sup>5</sup> Neither monarch maintained permanent diplomatic representatives at foreign courts.

One of the Shah's ambassadors to India was the Englishman, Robert Sherley, who strangely spent thirty years of his life in the service of the Persian king. He came to Jahangir's court in 1614, on his return from a round of diplomatic visits to the Christian princes of Europe, and was well received and sent on his way with two elephants and eight antelopes as presents to the Shah.<sup>1</sup> Another ambassador came in 1615 bringing horses, camels, stuffs from Aleppo, and nine large European hunting dogs.<sup>2</sup> In the autumn of 1618 an important embassy came from Shah Abbas which was observed and described by Sir Thomas Roe. As it is interesting to compare this with an Indian embassy which arrived in Persia at about the same time and was described by Della Valle, I will examine both in detail.

On the day of the Persian's arrival, Sir Thomas wrote:—

"The Persian ambassador, Mahomett Reza Beag about noone came into the Towne with a great troupe which were partly sent out by the king to meete him with 100 Eliphantes and musique, but no man of greater qualetye then the ordinary receiver of strangers. His owne trayne were about fifty horse, well fitted in Coates of Gould, their bowes, quivers, and Targetes richly garnished, forty shott, and some two hundred ordinary Peons and attenders on baggage." On presentation at court, the Persian made many salaams and even prostrated himself before Jahangir, earning Roe's scorn for his servility. He "presented the Shabas his lettrec; which the kinge took with a little motion of his body, asking only: How doth my brother? without title of Maiestie; and after some few woordes hee was Placed in the seuenth rannck, . . . which in my Iudgment was a most inferiour place for his master's Embassador, but that hee well deserved it for dooing that reuerence which his Predecessores refused, to the dishonor of his Prince and the Murmer of many of his Nation. It is said hee had order from the Sophy to give content, and thereby it is gathered his message is for some ayde in mony agaynst the Turke, in which kind hee often findes liberall succour, though it bee pretended hee comes only to treat a peace for the Deccans, whose protection the Shabas taketh to hart, envying the

<sup>1</sup> *Letters received by the East India Company etc.*, v. 2, p. 99, and Coryat, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, v. 1, bk. 4, p. 598.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 282—283.

increase of this Empire. The King, according to Custome, gaue him a handsome turbant, a vest of gould, and a Girdle, for which agayne hee made three Teselims and one Sizeda or ground curtesye. Hee brought for Presentes three tymes nine horses of Persia and Arabia,<sup>1</sup> this beeing a Ceremonious number among them, nine mules very fayre and lardg, seven camells laden with veluett, two sutes of Europe Arras (which I suppose was Venetian hanginges of veluett with Gould, and not Arras), two chestes of Persian hanginges, on cabinett rich, 40 Muskettes, 5 Clockes, one Camell laden with Persian Cloth of Gould, 8 Carpettes of silke, 2 Rubyes ballast, 21 Cammelles of wyne of the Grape, 14 Cammelles of distilled sweet waters, 7 of rose waters, 7 daggers sett with stones, 5 swoordes sett with stones, 7 Venetian looking glasses, but these soe faire, soe rich that I was ashamed of the relation . . . . . His owne furniture was rich, leading nine spare horses trapped in Gould and silver; about his Turbant was wreathed a chayne of Pearles, rubies and Turquesses, and three Pipes of gould answerable for three spriges of feathers."<sup>2</sup> In presenting his gifts, "hee appeared rather a Iester or Iugler then a person of any Grauity, running up and downe, and acting all his woordes like a mimick Player . . . . . Hee deliuered the Presentes with his owne handes, which the king with smiles and Cheerfull Countenance and many woordes of Contentment receiued. His toong was a great aduantage to deliuer his owne business, which hee did with so much flattery and obsequiousness that it Pleased as much as his Guift: euer calling his Maiestie King and Commander of the world, forgetting his owne master had a share in yt; and on euery little occasion of good acceptation hee made his Tezelims. When all was deliuered for that day hee prostrated himselfe on the ground, and knocked with his head as if he would enter in."<sup>3</sup>

Mohammed Reza Beg continued at Jahangir's court for some six months, during which time he was favored with many

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<sup>1</sup> Roe notes elsewhere: "The horses eyther had lost their flesh or bewty, for except one or two, I Iudged them vnfit for to be sent or taken by Princes. Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, p. 295—297.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 300—301.

presents—20,000 rupees on one occasion,<sup>1</sup> an elephant on another<sup>2</sup>—and entertained most honorably and “in every way valued as befits his place.”<sup>3</sup> In return for all this favor, he displayed a subservience and humility which continued to fill the English Ambassador with scorn. “I would sooner dye,” he writes, “then be subiect to the slaverye the Persian is content with.”<sup>4</sup>

Apparently, however, his business did not progress so well as the gifts showered upon him would lead one to expect; for, at last, believing it impossible to get satisfaction in his affairs, “hee suddenly tooke leave; and hauing given thirty faire horses at his departure, the King gave in recompence three thousand *Rupias*, which hee tooke in great scorn; whereupon the King prized all that the Ambassadour had given him at mean rates, and likewise all that the King had returned since his arriual, even to slaues, Drinke, Mellons, Pines, Plantanes, Hawkes, Plumes, the Eliphant and whatsoever at extremely high rates, and sending both Bills made it up in mony.”<sup>5</sup> The balance, of course, appeared very much in favour of the King. The ambassador was so much upset by the slight put upon him that he made no farewell calls, but gave out that he was ill with fever, and so departed secretly.

Something more than a year later, Shah Abbas was staying in Kazvin when he received word that Khan Alam, ambassador of the Great Mogul had arrived in Teheran and hoped shortly to wait upon him. This embassy had been long and eagerly expected, for it had been several years making the journey from Lahore.<sup>6</sup> The Shah, annoyed that the Indian had not shown greater zeal in hastening to come to him, refused to receive him at once, and ordered him to wait in Kum, while

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<sup>1</sup> Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, p. 300—301. Jahangir gave the ambassador this present at a feast, and the next day made good his liberality by imposing heavy fines on all the nobles who had been present because they had drunk wine. Roe says that Jahangir had given them permission to drink, but had himself got so drunk that he quite forgot this fact.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 394.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters received by the East India Company*, v. 4, p. 310.

<sup>4</sup> Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, p. 350—351.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 400.

<sup>6</sup> In 1613 Jahangir wrote in his journal that he had summoned Khan Alam to his court with the attention of sending him to Persia. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 248.

he himself went to spend the hot months in the hills near Kazvin.<sup>1</sup>

Kum is a warm place in which to spend the summer, and its holy shrine would not give to a Sunni the compensation of merit to be acquired by living in its shadow; but we can picture Khan Alam, with oriental acceptance of the inevitable, making himself very comfortable and spending long days seated on a rug in his garden, smoking, and drinking innumerable cups of coffee. He had at least the satisfaction of smoking at a time when that pleasant vice was forbidden to all others. Both Jahangir and Shah Abbas, "in consequence of the disturbance that tobacco brings about in most temperaments and constitutions" and "aware of the mischief arising from it," had forbidden smoking in their kingdoms.<sup>2</sup> To Khan Alam, arriving in Persia, the publication of the Shah's edict against tobacco was a blow. But a friend at court<sup>3</sup> represented to the Shah that "Khan Alam could never be a moment without tobacco," and the Shah graciously wrote this couplet in answer:

"The friend's envoy wishes to exhibit tobacco.

With fidelity's lamp I light up the tobacco market."

Whereupon Khan Alam wrote and sent the following:

"I, poor wretch, was miserable at the tobacco notice.

By the just Shah's favour the tobacco market became brisk."<sup>4</sup>

In November the Shah returned to Kazvin and allowed the ambassador to come to him there. This he did, with all his following of from one thousand to fifteen hundred persons.<sup>5</sup> The Shah received him very graciously, and sat all the first night drinking with him,—they two alone in the balcony of a house in the public square, while the courtiers waited wearily below, some eating and drinking to pass the time, others stretching themselves out to sleep on the bare ground. "Not caring for this discomfort, I left promptly," says Della Valle.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 736—737.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert, writing in 1628 says that 30 camel loads of tobacco which arrived from India were publicly burned, and the unfortunate muleteers who had brought it had their ears and noses cut off. He says that the Shah's regulations about tobacco were constantly changing, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Yadgar Ali Khan, who had been ambassador to India.

<sup>4</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 1, p. 370—371.

<sup>5</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 835.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* v. 1, p. 830.

The ceremony of the presentation of gifts was impressive. An ambassador from Russia had just arrived with gifts from the Czar, and the Shah saw an excellent opportunity to display to the ambassador of each country his importance in the eyes of the other. The chief square of the town was prepared for the spectacle. Soon after noon, on one of those brilliant autumn days which go far in Persia to redeem the discomforts of the rest of the year, the gifts were brought in: first those from the Indian Emperor, which were placed in line along one side of the *meidan*; then those from the Russian king, placed opposite. The Russian ambassadors (two, in accordance with the custom of their country) followed, and dismounted to await the king. When all was in orderly array, the Shah and Khan Alam rode in side by side,<sup>1</sup> followed by a troop of the great men of the court, clothed in silk and brocade, wearing jewels in their turbans; (but the king was clothed simply, as usual, in cloth). They too dismounted, and the Muscovites came forward to present their letter. When the King had received it, with the accustomed words of welcome, he and the ambassadors went to a balcony overlooking the square to review the procession of gifts. First passing the King, the procession filed all around the square and then passed out. When we read the list of gifts brought from India, we cease to wonder that the journey from Lahore took several years to accomplish. With the menagerie which Khan Alam had to conduct, with the thousand followers whom he had to take care of, it is wonderful that he was able to make the journey and present all in order before the King. Della Valle, stationed at one end of the *meidan*, watched the parade and gives a very detailed description of the gifts, which I have abbreviated in the following account:—

“Twenty-nine camels, with loads of I know not what, but I imagine of fine cloths of Indian workmanship; a large and beautiful tent, with gilt poles, carried in many sections by many men; I know not how many jewelled swords and other arms; more than twenty cases (bacili) full of turbans, five or six turbans in each case; a great tooth of an animal, which must be the tooth of either an elephant or of a fish. Other

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<sup>1</sup> Note that the Indian ambassador was not required to follow behind the Shah, as were the courtiers.



trifles (*bagatelle*) there were which I did not see well. After them, six Indian chariots, each of them with only two wheels, between which the chariot stands, small without seats, with a flat floor, for sitting as on the ground. And these chariots they sit in, leaning back on certain big round cushions which there are at the head, and at the foot too when necessary. All the chariots were covered with silk and gold, and to the pole of each were yoked two white, glistening (*pulitissimi*) bullocks, decked with cloths. After the chariots came a quantity of strange animals, namely:—two *chierghieden*, which I believe to be rhinoceroses, for I was told that they fight with elephants, and on the end of their noses were the marks where the horns will grow (which these, being young, have not yet got); an animal like a buffalo, with horns very large and strange; deer and strange stags of many sorts; wild asses of a fair color; a wild goat with three legs, two of which were in front in their place, and one behind. There were, finally, eight or ten elephants, two or three of the finest of them bearing turrets or palanquins, with men inside, which turrets were covered with silk and gold.”<sup>1</sup>

By way of contrast, the Russians had brought sable pelts, a quantity of small pieces of ivory, lanterns, and, especially, a very large quantity of Russian brandy.<sup>2</sup> Della Valle thought the presentation of so much brandy a very tactless proceeding, for the Russians in giving this, treated the Shah as a very hard drinker. And “it is natural,” says he, “that everyone dislikes to be reproved for his real faults.”<sup>3</sup> The Shah seems to have taken the same view of the matter for he kept only a very little of the brandy and returned the rest to the Russians, saying that he knew they were accustomed to drink it constantly. And when he left Kazvin for Ferhabad, shortly after, he took with him the Indian ambassador, but commanded the others to remain behind.<sup>4</sup>

The following June (1619) the King returned to his capital Ispahan, and arranged for a state entry of the ambassadors

<sup>1</sup> For this description of the gifts, see Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 833—835.

<sup>2</sup> “Non so quanti camelli carichi di barili pieni pur di aqua vita”—Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 1, p. 836.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. v. 1, p. 837.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. v. 1, p. 835.

of India, Russia, and Turkey (the last named having arrived in the meantime). On the day before the ceremony, they all halted with their retinues at Dowlatabad, a village twelve miles outside the city. The next morning they found the road from that place to the capital lined on both sides with sixty thousand men armed with arquebuses, all in strange and brilliant garb. Some played on fifes and castanets, others danced to the music. The Indian ambassador had heard that the Shah would come to Dowlatabad to meet him, and for a long time he refused to start toward the city. He sent messenger after messenger out on the road to see if the king was coming, but at last he was forced to mount and follow the other ambassadors, who, less exacting, had already gone on. While the Russian and Turk rode very simply in the procession, Khan Alam displayed great magnificence and pomp. Following him were ox-chariots like those he had brought for the king, camel litters, great trumpets, huge cymbals, drums so immense that an elephant was required to carry each pair. His retinue stretched out so long that evening had fallen before its last member reached the city gates.

The scene must have been both picturesque and gay. The foreigners in their native dress, riding through the ever-moving lines of armed men, saw and heard nothing but the dancing and music. As they neared the city and the crowds grew larger, the noise of continual applause increased and they heard the shouts of the populace: "Dowlet-i-Shah Abbas ziadé bashad!"—"May the prosperity of Shah Abbas increase!"

The ambassadors were met outside the city by representatives of the different races living in Ispahan. First the Jews, chanting orisons, who carried a volume of the Law, and lighted candles;<sup>1</sup> then the Zoroastrians, also on foot, with many of their women, who danced as they went. The Christians of Julfa were given an honorable place among the arquebusiers. And lastly, as the customary mark of honor to a great ambassador, came a troop of about twenty of the most famous courtesans of the city, their faces uncovered, all in rank on horseback.

The King himself, allowing the other ambassadors to enter

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<sup>1</sup> Della Valle says that they carried "something wrapped up" which he believed to be the Law. *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 17.

the city first, came out by a side gate to meet Khan Alam just before the town. They had a collation together near the gate, and then rode on to the palace, where the others had been awaiting them for an hour and a half. The King felt proud of his sixty thousand arquebusiers, who were not soldiers of the regular army, but artisans and peasants armed for the occasion. But the Indian showed himself so little impressed with their number that he begged to be allowed to give each one a *toman*, to recompense them for the loss of their time.<sup>1</sup> Somewhat offended by this ostentation of liberality, the Shah refused.

That evening there were illuminations in the great square and a grand feast, at which Khan Alam had the place of honor at the King's right. Della Valle, watching him and the King together, felt that the Indian could not have been entirely pleased with the attentions shown him. The King treated him very familiarly, he says, "giving him an infinity of hard slaps on the back, which, since he was fat and wore in the manner of his country only a simple and very thin white robe, doubtless hurt him very much. Again, drawing him close to speak in his ear, the Shah took hold of both his ears and pulled them violently; at other times, laughing, he called him '*Pir ghidi!*'—'old cuckold'—(for his hair was already becoming gray). In fine, he continually gave him such caresses, with the outward appearance of great familiarity, but really, inwardly, out of contempt and to make fun of him. Which perhaps the King did to repay him for his haughtiness and the scorn which he always displays for everything belonging to His Majesty."<sup>2</sup>

The next evening, when the Indian ambassador was summoned to see again the illuminations in the great square, at which the sixty thousand arquebusiers were to appear once more, he sent back a message that to have seen them once was enough, and that it was a pity to keep these poor men longer from their ordinary labors. This he did, says Della Valle, "to show that his eyes were satiated by the greater splendors of his own monarch. And above all, he gave the King to understand, in every way possible, that he thought nothing of the sixty

<sup>1</sup> A *toman* was worth at this time something over three pounds sterling.

<sup>2</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 26—27.

thousand arquebusiers, since they were not soldiers, but all artisans of the city and peasants from the villages. The Shah, on the other hand, brought before him so great a number of armed men, not one of them a soldier of the regular army, the better to display his power, and to demonstrate that such was his country and his strength that even if some disaster were to occur, or his army to be entirely discomfited, in any case the city of Ispahan alone with its villages would be able to furnish sixty thousand men skilled in arms . . . . . The Indian always pretended to esteem lightly everything of the King's, and the King, in exchange, always jokingly, lost no occasion to wound him; . . . . . and although the favors he showed him were apparently great, there was really no good feeling between them either on one side or the other."<sup>1</sup>

Della Valle did not learn what the purpose of the Indian embassy was. Shah Abbas's purpose, however, was known to all. One day, speaking to the Spanish ambassador, he pointed to Khan Alam and said:—

"Do you see the Indian ambassador who stands there? If his King, Shah Selim, does not give me back Kandahar, he will see what I shall do!" And he added that since God had taken him under his protection and had given might to his sword, he (Shah Abbas) did not intend to give up a single hair of his head, much less cities and territories, to any prince in the world!<sup>2</sup>

In August, 1619, Khan Alam took his leave of the Persian court. The Shah, because he knew that the Indian had been making secret arrangements to carry back many recruits for the armies of the Mogul, issued a public *firman*, prohibiting all Persians from going with him.<sup>3</sup> It is not known what private instructions he gave to the ambassador, but Della Valle believed that the King, who had made frequent mention of the question of Kandahar, must have renewed his urgent

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<sup>1</sup> For Della Valle's account of the entry and reception of the ambassadors, and of Khan Alam's treatment by the King, see his *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 14—30.

<sup>2</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 34—35.

<sup>3</sup> It seems likely that the hiring of recruits was one of the chief objects of the Indian mission. If so, the great magnificence of the ambassador's retinue and his splendid gifts would have the double purpose of conciliating the Shah, and of showing possible recruits how rich and mighty a monarch they were asked to serve.

demands for the return of that fortress to Persian dominion. At any rate, the Indian ambassador departed little satisfied with the result of his mission, and there did not lack those who prophesied a war in the near future between India and Persia.<sup>1</sup>

War there was not, however, nor any appearance of it for two years. Khan Alam returned to his royal master bearing rich gifts from Persia, and told him of the remarkable affection and favor which had been shown him by the Persian King. So great an impression did his report make on Jahangir that the latter wrote in his journal: "Of the favours and kindnesses conferred by my brother (Abbas) on Khan Alam, if I were to write of them in detail I would be accused of exaggeration."<sup>2</sup> The painter of renown whom Jahangir had sent with the embassy to Persia had brought back portraits of the Shah and of the chief men of Persia which were pronounced excellent likenesses by all the Persians at court. With Khan Alam had returned Zambil Beg as ambassador of the Shah, whose letter and gifts were graciously received.<sup>3</sup>

The journal does not mention that either the Persian or the Indian ambassador made any reference to Kandahar. Zambil Beg continued at court in apparent favor, receiving gifts on the feast days.<sup>4</sup> Missions were evidently sent to Persia, for Jahangir mentions at different times the despatch of a zebra as a rarity for his "brother," and some "golden birds," which the Shah had desired.<sup>5</sup>

Shah Abbas, in the meanwhile, finding that no move was made by Jahangir towards the surrender—or the "return," as he preferred to call it—of Kandahar, grew tired of waiting. He started from Ispahan with a large force and marched towards the Afghan frontier.<sup>6</sup> On the way his troops were increased by reinforcements from Khorassan,<sup>7</sup> so that it was a formidable army which stood before the gates of Kandahar in the early Spring of 1622.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 41—42.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* v. 2, p. 115—117.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* v. 2, p. 198, 201, 211.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* v. 2, p. 211, 221.

<sup>6</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 380.

<sup>7</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 233.

<sup>8</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 404.

A report of the expedition which was brought to Jahangir at Rawalpindi he professed to find incredible. He wrote that "it appeared very unlikely and beyond all calculations that such a great king should entertain such light and crude ideas," but at the same time he set about to prepare "a victorious host" with "elephants of mountainous hugeness," so that the King of Persia might "discover the result of breaking faith and of wrong-doing."<sup>1</sup>

The mobilization of an army to serve in Afghanistan would be difficult at any time. On this occasion it was not nearly completed when definite information arrived of the siege and capture of Kandahar.<sup>2</sup> The capture seems not to have been a difficult matter. The fortress was defended by only a small force, which soon saw the inadvisability of holding out against the Persian troops. The city was evacuated and the army of the Shah marched in. Thereupon, the Shah advertised his capture of Kandahar as a signal victory. He sent a circular letter throughout Persia, to be read aloud in all the chief cities, to the accompaniment of music, in which the prowess of the army was lauded, and it was claimed that they had taken not only Kandahar but many other fortresses as well. "They counted," says Della Valle, "each turret and bastion of the walls as a separate fortress." Popular rumor had it that *Dellala Chizi*, a favorite dancing girl of the Shah, had taken the city in person at the head of a band of camp women; and this, Della Valle thought, was probably true. Since the city was empty, force was not needed for its occupation, and the Shah doubtless sent the women in ahead of the troops so that he might boast that even the women who rode with his army were stronger than the soldiers of the Great Mogul.<sup>3</sup>

It is hardly necessary to say that no reference to the women appears in Jahangir's journal. The King speaks of the immense number of the attacking force and of the few defenders of the place, and tells in detail of the preparations being made to send out an army which would be so furnished with

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<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 230—231.

<sup>2</sup> Jahangir mentions the siege, but does not actually admit in so many words that the city had been captured. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> Della Valle, *Viaggi*, v. 2, p. 403—405.

numbers and arms that there would be "no delay or hesitation until it reached Ispahan!"<sup>1</sup>

But the Shah did not wish to have an Indian army invade his provinces. Having finally got Kandahar into his possession, he had no reason to fight with the Indian King; and he set his astute oriental mind to prepare an explanation of the incident which should prove that there was no cause whatever for unfriendly feeling between him and Jahangir. The resulting letter and its reply form a curious and interesting episode in diplomatic history.<sup>2</sup>

The Shah, in his letter, after many compliments and good wishes for "his brother dear as life," refers to the fact that Kandahar had formerly been the property of his family. He had expected that Jahangir would voluntarily turn over the city to him, and, when he failed to do so, had thought that perhaps "that petty country" was regarded as unworthy of the Indian emperor's notice; and had therefore repeatedly brought the matter to Jahangir's attention. Finally he decided to make a visit to the place and hunt there, so that the agents of his distinguished brother might entertain him. He therefore set off, without apparatus for taking forts, and sent word of his coming to the Governor of Kandahar. Unfortunately, the Governor showed "obstinacy and a rebellious spirit," so that the Shah was compelled to invest and take the fort. Because, however, of the "ties of love" between himself and Jahangir, he spared the garrison. At this point in the letter, Abbas's feelings of affection could find no outlet but poetry, and he wrote:—

"Between you and me there cannot be trouble,  
There can be nought but love and trust."

Begging Jahangir to consider all his (Abbas's) dominions as his own, and to extend his friendship to everyone in Persia, he closed with a request that he should proclaim that Kandahar had been given to the ruler of Persia with no objection whatever, and that it was all a matter of no importance.

Jahangir, in his reply to the "loving letter," regretted that the "glorious Shah, the star of heaven's army, the fruitful

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<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> For a translation of the two letters, see *Memoirs of Jahangir* v. 2, p. 240—245.

tree of the gardens of sovereignty, the splendid nursling of the parterres of prophecy and saintship" should have disturbed the "rose-garden of love and friendship." He said that there should be no need of physical contact between princes, still less of visiting one another's countries for hunting and sight-seeing. He lamented (in verse):—

"Alas a hundred times for the love passing thought."

He said that until the arrival of Zambil Beg (who had returned with Khan Alam), no mention had ever been made by the Shah of any wish for Kandahar. Zambil mentioned it only verbally, and Jahangir had replied that he made no difficulty about anything his brother wished. Zambil had not yet returned to his own country when news came that Shah Abbas had taken Kandahar. Jahangir was astonished. What could there be in a petty village that the Shah should care to possess it? The relation of brotherhood between them still stood firm, and Jahangir did not value the world in comparison therewith. But when Shah Abbas took such steps, to whom would mankind ascribe the merit of keeping contracts and preserving the capital of humanity and liberality?

Jahangir sent off this affectionate, if somewhat reproachful, letter, and immediately devoted all his energies to urging on a force to attack his "brother" Shah Abbas, in Kandahar. Unfortunately for his warlike intentions, just at this time news was brought of the first insurrection of his son Khurram, on whom he had counted to lead the expedition into Afghanistan. A pathetic entry in his journal contains his last reference to his difficulties with the Shah:—

"That which weighs heavily on my heart, and places my eager temperament in sorrow is this, that at such a time, when my prosperous sons and loyal officers should be vying with each other in the service against Kandahar and Khorassan, which would be to the renown of the sultanate, this inauspicious one (Khurram) has struck with an axe the foot of his own dominion and become a stumbling-block in the path of the enterprise. The momentous affair of Kandahar must now be postponed."<sup>1</sup>

The affair of Kandahar was indeed postponed. The Shah could safely return to his capital to celebrate his victories

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<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, v. 2, p. 248.



Jahangir spent the remainder of his reign struggling against his rebellious sons. Abbas continued correspondence with the Deccan kings, supporting them in their opposition to the Mogul;<sup>1</sup> but we hear no more of intercourse between Shah Abbas and Jahangir.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, Hak. Soc. 1892, p. 152.

*Lexicographical and Grammatical Notes on the Svapnavāsavadatta of Bhāsa.*—By Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN,  
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The following notes on the language of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* contain the gleanings in the fields of lexicography and grammar obtained in a preliminary reading of this play in preparation for a more thorough study of the recently discovered works of Bhāsa. Included are: (1) all words or significations (marked °) not contained in either the smaller or the larger St. Petersburg lexicons (cited as pw. and PW. respectively); (2) all words or significations (marked \*) cited only from Sanskrit lexicographers; (3) a few other words or meanings worthy of notice. Words occurring in the Prākṛit portions of the text have been included when the Sanskrit form can be inferred with certainty, since the difference between the Śāurasenī Prākṛit and the Sanskrit in the dialogue of the Indian drama is in the main phonetic and not lexical. A few grammatical peculiarities of the Sanskrit text only have been noted in conclusion, as the more or less corrupt state of the Prākṛit passages requires further and closer examination. References are to the pages and lines of the edition of the play in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XV (ed. Gaṇapati Śāstri, Trivandrum, 1912).

•*akalyavarta* [Pkt. *akallavatta*] (29, 12): 'without breakfast'. Cf. *kalyavarta*, which is cited, in the sense of 'breakfast', from lexicographers only.

•*akṣetravant* (10, 9): 'uncultivated'. Cf., however, 2. *akṣetra*, and Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 1, § 53 b.

•*adākṣiṇya* [Pkt. *adakkhiṇṇa*, v. l. *adidakkhiṇṇa*] (41, 15): 'impolite', 'inconsiderate'. Cf. *adākṣiṇya*, 'incivility', in Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, new ed.

*adhikaraṇa* (74, 10): 'witness to a legal transaction' (collective). Cf. the meaning 'court of justice', cited from *Mṛcchakatikā* and *Kādambarī*.

*anahanṁkāra* [Pkt. *aṇahanṁkāra*] (43, 3): 'without conceit'. Only as substantive in pw., *Schluss der Nachträge*.

\**anirjñāta* [v. l. *avijñāta*] (3, 1): 'unrecognized'. For *jñā + nis*, PW. and pw. cite Vedic examples only. Cf., below, *dhū + ava*, occurring in the same passage.

\**abhilāṣitva* (5, 5): 'desirousness'.

\**avidhavākaraṇa* [Pkt. *avihavākaraṇa*] (27, 3): 'not-widow-making', name of an herb used in the bridal wreath. Cf. *sapatnīmardana*, below.

\**ādeśika* (5, 2; 76, 14): 'soothsayer'. Cf. *ādeśin* 2., 'astrologer', cited only in PW. from Hemacandra, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, 482.

\**ālambaka* [Pkt. *ālambaa*] (31, 13): 'string' (of pearls).

\**āsavadattā* (1, 7): 'intoxicated woman'. Regarding the formation of the compound, cf. Wackernagel, *Aind. Gr.*, II, 1, § 116a.

\**ujjayinīya* [Pkt. *ujjāñīa*] (20, 4; 21, 8; 72, 11): 'of Ujjain'.

\**rjvāyata* (36, 9; 52, 12): 'stretched straight'.

\**kākodara* [Pkt. *kāo(d)ara*] (52, 10; 53, 1): 'snake'. Also in *Harṣacarita*, p. 125, 2 (Bombay ed., 1892).

\**grāmīkr* [*grāmīkaroti*] (2, 12): 'to make vulgar', 'to profane'. *ghātay + abhi* [*abhighātayitum*] (60, 8): 'to smite'. Only the past participle *abhighātita* is cited in PW. and pw.

\**jūs* [*jūṣitam*, but v. l. *dūṣitam*] (71, 3): 'to injure'. Cited only from *Dhātupāṭha*.

*dāruparvata(ka)* [Pkt. *dārupavvadaa*] (36, 5): name of a pavilion, adorned with frescoes, in the palace gardens. Cited only from *Veṇīsamhāra*.

*dhar* [*dhārayatu*, and Pkt. *dhāredu*] (69, 5; 44, 3): 'to bear up', 'to endure' (intransitive).

*dhū + ava* [*avadhūyante*] (3, 1): 'to drive away'. According to PW., only the gerund and the past participle are found in classical Sanskrit. Cf., however, *dhū + vyava*. Can this passage, *evam anirjñātāni dāivatāny avadhūyante*, be a Vedic reminiscence?

*pad + abhyava* [*abhyavapattukāma*] (12, 4): 'to rescue'. Cited only in pw., *letzte Nachträge*, from *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay ed.).

*paryavasthāna* [Pkt. *payyavatthāna*, v. l. *payyavatthāvāna*] (22, 10): 'cheerfulness', 'encouragement'. Cf. *sthā + paryava*.

\**purobhāgitā* [Pkt. *purobhāḍā*, omitted in one Ms.] (40, 15): 'importunateness'. Cf. *purobhāgin*.

*prṣṭham* [v. l. *dhṛṣṭam*] (2, 2): 'backwards' (adverb).

*prāvaraka* [Pkt. *pāvaraa*] (55, 8): 'cloak'. Cf. *prāvāraka*.

*proṣitabhartṛkā* (7, 14): 'woman whose husband is on a journey'. Generally used as a technical designation of a kind of heroine; cf. PW., s. v., and *Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra*, 22, 205 (ed. Śivadatta and Parab, Bombay, 1894).

\**maṇibhūmi* [Pkt.] (25, 11): 'floor inlaid with precious stones', 'mosaic'.

*yoga* (64, 16): 'stringing', 'tuning' (of a lute), in the compound *navayoga*, 're-strung'.

\**li* + *pariṇi* [Pkt. *pariṇilīna*] (38, 6): 'clung to'.

*vātasonita* [Pkt. *vādasonida*] (29, 9): 'rheumatism', 'gout'. Cited only from medical works.

\**vyapāśrayaṇā* [v. l. *vyapaśrayaṇā*] (8, 3): 'confidence', 'reliance'. Cf. I. *vyapāśraya*.

\**śiropadhāna* (53, 7): 'head-cushion', 'pillow'. For *śira-* instead of *śiraḥ-* as first element of a compound, cf. Wackernagel, *Aind. Gr.*, I, § 268, or II, 1, § 26 b.

\**śīrṣābhghāta* (53, 7): 'headache'.

\**sadākṣiṇya* [Pkt. *sadakkhiṇṇa*] (42, 1, &c.): 'polite', 'considerate'. Cf. *adākṣiṇya*, above.

\**sapatnīmardana* [Pkt. *savattimaddaṇa*] (27, 6): 'co-wife-destroying', name of an herb used in the bridal wreath. Cf. *avidhāvākarāṇa*, above.

\**samudragṛha(ka)* [Pkt. *samuddagihaka*] (49, 3, &c.): 'bathroom with shower'.

\**samudvahana* (64, 8): 'raising'. Cf. *samudvaha* in Monier-Williams, *Skt.-Engl. Dict.*, new ed.

\**saviśrama* (14, 12): 'relaxed'.

*sākṣimant* (74, 9): 'before witnesses'. Cited only from *Yājñavalkya*, 2, 94.

\**sāśrupāta* (46, 11; and Pkt. *sassupāda*, 45, 12): 'wet with tears'.

*sthāpanā* (2, 4): 'induction' (of a drama). The *sthāpaka*, 'assistant to the *sūtradhāra*', appears in the induction of the *Karpūramañjarī* (cf. Konow's comment in the edition by Konow and Lanman, p. 196, Cambridge, Mass., 1901), and is mentioned in the *Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra*, 5, 150—156 (ed. Śivadatta and Parab), and in the *Daśarūpa*, 3, 2 (ed. and tr. Haas, New York, 1912). Cf. also Lévi, *Théâtre Indien*, I, pp. 135, 379; II, p. 66.

*svatā* (5, 5; 68, 14): 'loyalty', 'devotion' (construed with locative).

The following nominal forms are also worthy of mention.

*adeśakāla* [*katham adeśakālo nāma*] (62, 10): 'wrong place and time', a masculine singular dvandva, also in Prākṛit in the preceding line, and cf. Pkt. *Govālaa-Vālaa* (69, 15): 'Gopālaka and Pālaka'. Cf. Wackernagel, *Aind. Gr.*, II, 1, § 70.

*pārṣṇī* [nom. *pārṣṇī*] (60, 12): 'rear of an army', rarer form of *pārṣṇi*.

*yudh* [*mahārṇavābhe yudhi*] (61, 4): 'battle', masculine!

In verbal forms the confusion of voices is a noticeable peculiarity. Thus we have the active used for the middle in *āprcchāmi* (15, 10): 'I bid farewell'; *utkanthiṣyati* (16, 3): 'she will desire'; *samarthayāmi* (51, 14): 'I regard'. On the other hand, the middle occurs where the active would be normal in *kathayisyē* (43, 7): 'I will tell'; and in *śliṣyate* (4, 9): 'it adheres' (perhaps passive). An anomalous middle form *dharate* (58, 13): 'she lives', is found instead of the usual passive *dhriyate* (cf. also Pkt. *dharaī*, 13, 6); and a passive *ruhyate* (69, 10): 'it grows', seems to have been formed on the analogy of *chidyate* immediately preceding in the same stanza.

*On the Etymology and Meaning of the Sanskrit Root Varj.*—By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

There is scarcely an article in the Sanskrit Lexicons which has been treated more variously than the root *varj*. It has a number of different aspects; among others it frequently occurs in connection with *barhis* (*vrktā-barhis*); for such connection the *Pet. Lexs.* assume the meaning, 'abdrehen, aus-raufen'. Roth seems to me to have been inspired here by the *Nighaṇṭu* 2. 19 where *vr̥nakti* (followed by *vr̥ccati* and *kṛntati*) is counted as one of the thirty *vadhakarmāṇaḥ*. There are a few cases in the *Veda* in which grammatical forms of *varj* and *vraçc* coincide;<sup>1</sup> this probably accounts for the *Nighaṇṭu*'s grotesque statement. *Sāyaṇa* at *RV.* 6. 11. 5, of course, takes up the *Nighaṇṭu*'s idea (*vr̥jiç chedanārthaḥ, chid-yate*). This rendering ('trim') appears also in *Müller's* and *Oldenberg's* translations in *SBE.* xxxii. 84, 109; xli. 155. *Monier William's* second edition follows the *Pet. Lexs.* under *varj*, but has, in sheer inconsistency, weaned itself from this translation in *vr̥ktā-barhis*, to wit, 'one who has gathered and

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<sup>1</sup> Weak forms of the root *vraçc*, i. e. *vr̥cc*, lose their sibilant when followed by inflectional elements beginning with a consonant (t or s). See *Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik*, I, p. 270, and from an hermeneutic point of view *Ludwig, Der Rig-Veda*, vol. iv, p. 249 ff.; *Oldenberg RV. Noten* to 1. 27. 13; 10. 87. 2. Resulting sound groups *vr̥kt-* and *vr̥kṣ-* are formally derivable from either *vraçc* or *varj*. Thus the forms *vr̥kṭvī* in 10. 87. 2 (*Sāyaṇa*, *chittvā*) and *ā vr̥kṣi* in 1. 27. 13 (*Sāyaṇa*, *ovraçcū chedane*), both from *vraçc*, resemble forms from *varj*. They happen at the same time to coincide pretty closely respectively with *varj* in the sense of 'put down' (6. 18. 8; 26. 3) and *ā varj* in the sense of 'appropriate' (1. 31. 1). This is in all probability the fountain-head of the confusion between and the juxtaposition of *varj* and *vraçc* in the *Nighaṇṭu* and subsequent comments. Occasionally it does not seem possible to decide which root is in action. Thus in *RV.* 10. 150. 5, *āvr̥kṣam anyāsām vārcaḥ*; see *Oldenberg, RV. Notes*, whose indecision is entirely justified (cf. also *AV.* 1. 14. 1<sup>a</sup>).

spread the sacrificial grass'. Grassmann, in his *Lexicon*, translates *vr̥j* 1), which involves *barhis*, by 'die heilige Streu umwenden, umlegen', contrasting this action with the more frequent one of spreading the *barhis*. But what warrant he has found for this unheard of trait in manipulating the *barhis* he does not tell. I am, for my part, totally unacquainted with the act of 'turning the *barhis*'.<sup>1</sup> Moreover the same lexicographer renders *vr̥ktá-barhis* by, 'der die opferstreu bereitet'.

The *Rig-Veda* translators do not follow the *Lexicons* at all, but introduce new notes into the interpretation of root *varj*. To illustrate we may start from a pair of parallel passages which require consistent treatment of the root. The translations will show even better how unstable is our information on this subject. In *RV.* 6. 11. 5<sup>ab</sup> we have:

*vr̥ñjé ha yán námasā barhír agnáu áyāmi srúg ghṛtāvati suvr̥ktīḥ*. Grassmann translates this, 'da Streu dem Agni demuthsvoll geschmückt ist, gereicht der reine buttermolle Löffel'. He assumes here the meaning 'adorn' both for *vr̥ñje* and *vr̥kti* in *suvr̥ktī*. The parallel *RV.* 1. 2. 4<sup>ab</sup> reads:

*saparyávo bháramāṇā abhijñú<sup>2</sup> prá vr̥ñjate námasā barhír agnáu*. This he renders, 'die Andachtsvollen schmücken Streu dem Agni voll Ehrfurcht aus, sie bis ans Knie errichtend'.

Ludwig (377) renders 6. 11. 5<sup>ab</sup>, 'wenn mit anbetung geschnitten wird (*Sāyana*), das *barhis* [am feuer], dem Agni dargereicht ward der *ghṛtavolle*, ser schöne<sup>3</sup> löffel'. But he translates (778) *RV.* 7. 2. 4<sup>ab</sup>, 'die dienstbereiten werfen ganz nah es bringend mit anbetung das *barhis* beim feuer nider'. Surely from 'ornament', to 'cut', to 'throw down' is a far cry. The two passages just mentioned contain a double association, namely with *barhis* and *námas*. Both may be followed some distance. *RV.* 1. 116. 1<sup>ab</sup>:

*násatyābhyām barhír iva prá vr̥ñje stómāṇ iyarmi abhriyeva vātaḥ*. Grassmann, 'den Treuen treib ich wie der Wind die Wolken die Lieder zu und schmück wie eine Streu sie'. We observe that Grassmann (*pace* his own rendering of *vr̥ktá-*

<sup>1</sup> See, e. g., how the *barhis* is treated in the selections from the ritual practices collected by Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* 1. 153.

<sup>2</sup> *Yasna* 57. 6, *yo paoiryo baresma frastereta . . . ākhēnus ca maidīyoipaitīstāṇaḥ ca*. The *baresman* is here strewn knee-high just as in the *Veda*.

<sup>3</sup> He thus separates wholly *vr̥ñje* and *suvr̥ktīḥ*.

barhis) holds to 'adorn' consistently. Ludwig (27) abandons his position of 6. 11. 5; 7. 2. 4, and turns to a new translation for *prá vrñje*, namely 'prepare'. This raises to the number six the renderings for the verb, namely 'pluck', 'gather and spread', 'ornament', 'cut', 'throw', and 'prepare'. To wit, 'wie ein barhis richte ich her den Nāsatya lieder, treibe [sie empor] wie regenwolken der wind'. We may ask parenthetically, what else than 'prepare' can by any stretch of the imagination be the *tertium comparationis* between song and barhis? Perhaps 'adorn'; but this is impossible for varj; Grassmann himself, the author of this supposition, has entirely abandoned it in his Lexicon.

We have next, RV. 7. 39. 2, *prá vāvrije suprayá barhír eṣām*. Grassmann, 'der Götter Streu hat schön geschmückt der Ordner'.<sup>1</sup> Ludwig, 'gesondert angewiesen ist [ihnen] das barhis diser [opfernden] mit treflicher Prayāj'. We have now: 'pluck', 'gather and spread', 'ornament', 'cut', 'throw', 'prepare', and 'assign' for combined varj and pra varj — a grand total of seven interpretations. To this we may add yet one more, namely Whitney's rendering of *barhiḥ . . . vrjyate* at AV. 5. 12. 4 (= RV. 10. 110. 4) by 'the barhis is wreathed'. The association of varj with barhis can be seen in several other passages, and we need not follow their renderings any further: RV. 1. 83. 6, *barhír vā yāt svapatyāya vrjyáte*; RV. 1. 134. 6, *ató vihutmatinām viçām vavarjūṣṇām* (where barhis is certainly to be supplied with *vavarjūṣṇām*, to wit, 'the people who have prepared the barhis');<sup>2</sup> RV. 10. 10. 4, *prācīnam barhiḥ pradiçā prthivyā vāstor asyā vrjyate āgre āhnām*; MS. 4. 13. 8 : 209, 9; KS. 19. 13; TB. 3. 6. 13. 1 *barhiḥ . . . vāstor vrjyeta*. Then comes the standardized bahuvrihi compound *vrktā-barhis* which most interpreters, with fine disregard of their own renderings of finite forms of varj in connection with barhis, translate by,

<sup>1</sup> Both here and in his Lexicon he takes *suprayās* as coming from root *yā* 'go'. Clearly, stem *su-prayās* 'preparing savory feasts'. Cf. *dādhati prāyāsi . . . vrktābarhiṣaḥ* in 10. 91. 9, and *vrktābarhiṣo hitāprayasaḥ* in 8. 27. 7; 69. 17.

<sup>2</sup> AV. 7. 50. 2 has the curious formula *viçām āvarjūṣṇām* which is surely a corrupt echo of the RV. The Pāippalāda reads instead *devayatām* (for *devayatām*) which is excellent support of our rendering of *vavarjūṣṇām*. So also Oldenberg, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1890 (nr. 10), p. 414; Foy, *KZ.* xxxiv, p. 243.



'he who has prepared the barhís', or, 'he for whom the barhís has been prepared'.

The root varj meets again both barhís and námas in RV. 10. 131. 2<sup>cd</sup>:

ihéhāṣām kṛṇuhi bhójanāni yé barhiṣo námovṛktim ná jag-múh. We translate, 'bring hither, aye hither, the food of them that did not come to the pious barhis act!' All at once we find the translators here in a most simple and correct mood with reference to barhiṣo námovṛktim. E. g. Ludwig (652), 'bring hieher die narungsmittel derer, die zu des barhis anbetungsvoller zurüstung nicht gekommen'. Grassmann, similarly. The Pet. Lex., however, explains námovṛkti by, 'die zu Ehren (der Götter) vollzogene Reinigung der Barhis', which, once more, obscures the true meaning of ṛkti, and does not tally with its own renderings of the finite verb.

The word námovṛkti in connection with barhís is pivotal for the interpretation of root varj in 6. 11. 5; 7. 2. 4: vṛñjé námasā barhír agnāu, and prá vṛñjate námasā barhír agnāu, 'prepare the barhís reverently at the (building of) the fire'. The Pet. Lex. quotes 6. 11. 5 under varj 2) 'abdrehen, ausraufen (das Gras zur Streu am Altar)', whereas, as we have just seen, it renders ṛkti in barhiṣo námovṛktim by 'reinigung'. This because the same authority (under varj 1) makes the false start 'wenden, drehen', which has become fateful for the interpretation of the root. I have advised the reader of the inconsistent handling of the same parallel passages on the part of Grassmann (Translation and Lexicon) and Ludwig. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* i. 152ff. assumes two fundamental values for varj, to wit, a) 'fangen', 'packen', &c.; b) 'hereinlegen' (slang), 'zu Fall bringen', 'zu Boden strecken', 'legen'. In this way he secures the meaning 'legen' in a very roundabout way for the type of 6. 11. 5 (vṛñje ha yán námasā barhih), but he does not mention barhiṣo námovṛktim in his citations, and I do not believe that he would advocate for námovṛkti something 'reverential laying' ('andachtsvolle legung'). Foy, KZ. xxxiv. 242, follows Geldner in interpreting varj in connection with barhis as, "nichts anderes als 'auf die Erde niederlegen, hinlegen' heißt varj and prá-varj in der verbindung mit barhis".

In every case discussed thus far varj means, 'work, do, perform, prepare'. The root in this sense is eclectically moribund

even in earliest Sanskrit; its primary, very broad meaning is restricted to a few turns of expression whose special aspects have enticed the interpreters to special renderings in closer verbal harmony with the situations than the word warrants. It is true (with Geldner and Foy) that the most natural thing to do with *barhis* is to lay it down (*barhiḥ strñhi*, and *strñahi* in Concordance). But what the texts really say in *vṛñje* (*prā vṛñje*) *barhiḥ*, *barhiṣo námovṛktim*, and *vṛktábarhis*, is to prepare the *barhis*. Is it not curious that Foy who assumes 'auf die erde niederlegen', 'hinlegen', for *varj* and *pra-varj*, l. c., p. 242, renders on the next page RV. 10. 131. 2, *ihéhāiṣāṁ kṛṇuhi bhójanāni yé barhiṣo námovṛktim ná jagmúḥ*, by, 'bring hierher die nahrungsmittel derer, die nicht zur verehrungsvollen zubereitung des *barhis* gekommen sind'?

There is yet another compound with *vṛkti*, namely *su-vṛkti*. Its *vṛkti* is the same as that of *námo-vṛkti*. The Pet. Lex. must here again be charged with a false start which has retarded the elucidation of *varj*. Roth, observing *suv-itá* = *sv-itá* in the sense of 'going happily', explains *su-vṛkti* as *suv-rkti* 'beautiful song'. In a report to the Petersburg Academy on the history of the Pet. Lex., printed in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. vii (1876), p. 591 ff. (still very interesting reading), he describes (p. 612) this find as a sort of egg of Columbus: 'das zu finden, war wenn man will gar keine Kunst. Aber warum sind so viele daran vorübergegangen?' But even Graßmann, who often follows the Pet. Lex., does not follow Roth, but hits the nail fairly on the head when he starts *su-vṛkti* with the meaning, 'schön zugerichtet, schön bereitet'. The word, in fact, means either 'skilful performance', or, 'accompanied by skilful performance', sc. in sacrifice and song.

Foy, l. c., p. 243, who follows others in rejecting Roth's interpretation, and, previously, Bergaigne, *Quarante Hymnes*, p. 18, narrow the meaning of *su-vṛkti* too much when they offer 'disposant bien le *barhis*', or 'barhis-zurüstungen', and 'der schöne *barhis*-zurüstungen genießt oder damit verbunden ist'. The word, like the finite forms of *varj*, inclines to that kind of performance, but for the most part other typical acts of prayer and practises are meant. Thus in 6, 11. 5 *srúg ghṛtávati suvṛktiḥ* means 'the ghee-holding, skilfully performing spoon' (preceded by *vṛñjé ha yán námasā barhír agnáu*, which has disposed of the *barhis*).

I have no doubt that the poets included in *suṽṛkti* the *barhīs* act and perhaps they sometimes had it specially in mind. We may suspect this in cases where *nāmas* occurs by the side of *suṽṛkti*, because *nāmas* seems to have associated itself technically with the combination *barhīs* and *varj* (see above). Thus 3. 61. 5, 12; 5. 41. 2; 7. 94. 4; 10. 63. 5.<sup>1</sup> But even this is not stringent; on the contrary it is important to note that the 45 *suṽṛkti*-passages do not a single time show the word *barhīs* by their side. So that Bergaigne's and Foy's essay to hold this word down to this one particular act ('*barhīs-zurüstung*') is decidedly subjective, just as Roth's restriction of the word to 'beautiful song' is too eclectic, tho it strikes much more frequently the precise thought of the *Rishis*. Oldenberg, SBE. xlv. 203, is also much impressed with the association of the word with 'song', tho he does not therefore divide as *suṽṛkti*; cf. his remarks, ZDMG. lv. 298, where he hesitatingly suggests '*gute herbeziehung*', an idea which he himself later permits to become submerged.

If the finite verb-forms of *varj* were not moribund and specialized, we may say, I am sure, that no one would ever have regarded *suṽṛkti* in any other light than 'pious work', 'accompanied by pious works (of all sorts)'. Thus 1. 52, 1, *éndram vavṛtyām ávase suṽṛktibhiḥ*; or 1. 168. 1, *á vo (sc. marutah) . . . vavṛtyām ávase suṽṛktibhiḥ*, express exactly the same idea as 8. 54 (Vál. 6). 2, *nákṣanta indram ávase sukrtyáya*. In the following passages the restriction to *barhīs* preparation is too narrow: 7. 36. 2, *imám vām mitrávaruṇā suṽṛktim iṣam ná kṛṇve asurā náviyaḥ*. Grassmann, '*dies Loblied*<sup>2</sup> bring ich . . . aufs neue'; Ludwig (221), '*die schöne zurüstung mach ich . . . von neuem*'. Ludwig, *Der Rig-Veda*, vi. 187<sup>b</sup> assumes '*zurüstung*' regularly; Grassmann's translation conflicts with his own, *pat*, '*schön zugerichtet*', etc. in his *Lexicon*. Of course in this passage *suṽṛktim* means 'pious act', but it is the pious act of song as shows unmistakably *náviyaḥ*. See stem *náviyas* in Grassmann with *ukthá*, *bráhma*, *gāyatrá*, *súktá*, *dhítí*, *matí*,

<sup>1</sup> See also 3. 14. 2 which contains *nāmaukti* and *barhīs*. See the item in the Concordance, *ye barhiṣo* (MS. *oṣā*) *namovṛktim* (VS. VSK. MS. ÇB. *namauktim*) *na jagmuḥ* (VS. ÇB. *namauktim yajanti*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. KS. MS. ÇB. TB. Also 6. 1. 6 seems to me to contain allusion to the *barhīs*.

<sup>2</sup> Following here apparently Roth's *suṽṛkti*.

gīh, suṣṭutī, and sumatī. Both scholars, it seems to me, if pressed, would have had to resort to a root varj = 'work', in order to explain their final stand on the word: Grassmann in his *Lexicon*; Ludwig at vol. vi. 187<sup>b</sup>.

For the most part the Rishis have in mind the hymnal rather than the ritual suvrkti. Thus 1. 62. 1, suvrktibhi *stuvatā* rgmiyāya; 5. 41. 10, vṛṣṇo *astoṣi* bhūmyāsyā gārbhaṁ tritō nāpātam apām suvrkti; 3. 51. 1, éndraṁ *gīro* brhatīr abhy ānūsata . . . suvrktibhiḥ; 8. 8. 22, prā vām *stómāḥ* suvrktāyo *gīro* vardhantv açvinā; 7. 70. 7, iyām *manīṣā* iyām açvinā *gīr* imām suvrktini vṛṣaṇā juṣethām; 1. 61. 4, asmā id u *stómam* sām hīnomi . . . *girāç* ca girvāhase suvrkti; 10. 64. 4, kathā kavīḥ tuvīrāvān kāyā *girā* bṛhaspātīr vāvṛdhāte suvrktibhiḥ; 7. 96. 1, sárasvatīm in mahayā suvrktibhi *stómāir* vasiṣṭha ródasi; 7. 97. 9, iyām vām brahmaṇas pate suvrktīr *brāhmēndrāya* vajriṇe akāri; 1. 61. 3, mánhiṣṭham *áchoktibhir matínām* suvrktibhiḥ sūrim vāvṛdhādyaī; 1. 61. 16, evā te hāriyojana suvrktíndra *brāhmāṇi* gótamāso akran; 1. 184. 5, eṣā vām *stómo* açvināv akāri mánēbhīr maghavānā suvrkti; 6. 61. 2, pārāvataghnīm ávase suvrktibhiḥ sárasvatīm á vivāsema *dhítibhiḥ*; 7. 24. 2, viṣṛṣṭadhenā bharate suvrktīr iyām indraṁ jóhuvati *manīṣā*; 10. 80. 7, agnāye *brāhma* rbhāvas tatakṣur agnīm mahām avocāma suvrktīm; 7. 31. 11, uruvyācase mahīne suvrktīm indrāya *brāhma* janayanta viprāḥ. Especially pointed is 8. 89. 7, gharmām ná sáman tapatā suvrktibhiḥ, 'do ye heat the ghárma (hot milk), as if at the sáman recital, with beautiful (hymn) performances'.

Three times suvrkti is closely associated with root hū 'call': 7. 83. 9, hāvāmahe vām vṛṣaṇā suvrktibhiḥ; 10. 41. 1, rátham . . . suvrktibhir . . . havāmahe; 2. 4. 1, huvé vaḥ sudyótmānaṁ suvrktīm<sup>1</sup> . . . agnīm. These and the preceding passages show well enough (in Roth's exaggerated sense) the association of the 'pious performance' with the chiefest 'performance of songs'.

It is much less easy to demonstrate the ritualistic aspect of suvrkti. RV. 3. 3. 9 is a good example: tāsya vratāni . . . vayām *úpa bhūṣema dáma ā* suvrktibhiḥ, 'let us tend in the house Agni's holy rites with pious practises!' 6. 10. 1, *púro* vo mandrām divyām suvrktīm prayati *yajñé* agnīm *adhvaré dadhidhvam*; 8. 40. 10, tám çiqitā suvrktibhis (followed in the parallel stanza

<sup>1</sup> Here Grassmann in his Translation, 'gepriesenen'; in his *Lexicon*, 'schön gefeiert'; Ludwig (296), 'schön bereiteten'.

8. 40. 11 by *tām çigitā svadhvarām*); 1. 61. 2, *asmā id u prāya iva prá yañsi bhārāmy āngūšām bādhe suvrkti*. In the last passage *bādhe* 'I hold', or, infinitive 'to hold' seems perhaps to point to the *barhis* as the god's seat; there seems to be also intentional antithesis between *bhārāmy āngūšām*, 'I bring song of praise', and *bādhe suvrkti* 'hold with good performance'. The hymn 1. 61 is a veritable nest for *suvrkti* (stanzas 2, 3, 4, 16); its occurrences there illustrate the double aspect of the word, as well as its very formulaic character. Thus especially in the cadences, which favor *suvrkti* at the end of 11 syllable lines (cadence  $\sim - \sim$ ); *suvrktibhis* at the end of 8 and 12 syllable lines (cadence  $\sim - \sim \sim$ ).<sup>1</sup>

A certain amount of light comes from a quarter not altogether unexpected. Geldner and Foy have labored valiantly in their pursuit of all the tricks and turns of the root as they seem to see them. Geldner, l. c., p. 154, observes that *varj* in composition has 'frequently lost its fundamental meanings'. He discusses *āpa-vrj*, *prā-vrj*, *sām-vrj*, and *sva-vrj*. Why not the more common and settled *pāri-vrj*? I miss this also in Foy's treatment. In Avestan *varež* means 'do'; *pairi-varež* 'avoid'. Thus, Visparad 15. 1: *dāityanaṃ raṇwyaṇaṃ huvarštaṇaṃ šnoṇnaṇaṃ huvarštaṇaṃ varežai*, *pairi adāityanaṃ araṇwyaṇaṃ dužvarštaṇaṃ varežai*, 'to perform lawful, well-ordered, pious deeds; to avoid illegal, disorderly, sinful deeds'. Cf. with this 8. 47. 5, *pāri no vrñajann aghā durgāni rathyō yathā*; or 6. 51. 16, *yéna viçvāḥ pāri dvišo vrñakti*. I am not sure but what this parallel points to an etymological relationship between Avestan *varež* und Vedic *varj*, notwithstanding the difference in the final consonants (we should expect Vedic *\*vrñashti* etc.)<sup>2</sup> Be this as it may, it secures in this composition a semantic, if not an etymological parallel to *varež*. Similarly with preposition *ā* root *varež* means 'get', 'secure' in Yasna 45, to wit: *tēm nē stāotāiš nēmanhō āvivarešō* (desiderative), 'thou shalt

<sup>1</sup> For the convenience of the reader I cite the remaining occurrences of the word, which seem to me to be indeterminate: 1. 64. 1; 86. 9; 2. 34. 15; 5. 25. 3; 6. 10. 6; 15. 4; 7. 8. 3; 8. 8. 3; 96. 10; 10. 30. 1; 73. 5; TS. 2. 4. 7. 1.

<sup>2</sup> On interchange between I. E. palatals with gutturals see Collitz, *Bezz. Beitr.* iii, 194ff.; Joh. Schmidt. KZ. xxv. 114ff.; Wackernagel, *Alt-indische Grammatik* i, pp. 161, 225; Brugmann, *Grundriß*, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 544ff. The difference between *varj* and *vrñakti* is the same as between *bācāza* and *bhiṣakti*, or in Sanskrit itself between *mugdhā* and *mūḍhā*.

try to secure him with songs of reverence!' Cf. with this RV. 1. 33. 1, anāmṛṇāḥ kuvid ā asya rāyó . . . āvarjate naḥ, 'will uninjurable (Indra) then not secure for us (some) of his wealth?' (Sāyana, āvarjate, adhikaṁ prāpayati).

The meaning 'do', or shades of that meaning, suit very directly the other prepositional compounds with varj, rather better than any other that has been assumed. Thus, pārā-varj 'do away with', 'abandon': RV. 8. 97. 7, mā na indra pārā vṛṇak; 8. 75. 12, mā no asmīn mahādhané pārā vark. Next, āpa-varj (very simple): 10. 117. 7, yānn ādhvānam āpa vṛṇkte caritrāiḥ (cf. the German idiom 'einen weg abtun'). Particularly to the point is anapavṛjyān ādhvanaḥ in RV. 1. 146. 3, in relation to ādhvā anantās in 1. 113. 3. In both passages this is the road or the roads which the sisters Day and Night, one or the other must travel by divine command (anyānyā carato devāṣiṣṭe). In 5. 47. 3 another dual pair, Heaven and Earth, similarly relieve one another in traveling paths which have no end (anantāsaḥ pānthāḥ). What, we may ask, if not 'not to be worked off', does anapavṛjyān mean? The positive to anapavṛjyān ādhvanaḥ is contained in RV. 10. 117. 7, yānn ādhvānam āpa vṛṇkte caritrāiḥ. The endless reciprocal activity of Day and Night gives rise to another figure of speech in AV. 10. 7. 42, where they are said to weave a woof 'which they shall never finish nor come to its end', nāpa vṛñjāte nā gamāto āntam. With another turn, AV. 3. 12. 6, āpa vṛṇkṣva çatrūn 'do (drive) away the enemy'; AV. 13. 2. 9, āpāvṛk tāmaḥ 'he has driven away darkness'.

The compound āpi-varj always goes with krátum, 'set one's mind upon', (quasi, 'work one's will upon'): 10. 120. 3, tvé krátum āpi vṛñjanti víçve dvir yád eté trir bhāvanty ūmāḥ, 'upon thee all set their mind, when (tho) twice and thrice the helping gods are available'; see also 10. 48. 3 (equally good), and cf., elliptically, 7. 31. 5, tvé āpi krátur máma; see Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* i. 10, note; Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, to 10. 120. 3. Next, sām-varj 'get together', 'obtain'; Germ. 'zusammenraffen': RV. 2. 12. 3, sāmvrk samātsu, 'getting (booty) in battles'; 9. 48. 2, sāmvrktadhṛṣṇum mādām, 'intoxicating (soma) that makes bold for booty'; 10. 61. 17, sām yān mitrávaruṇā vṛñjā ukthāiḥ, 'when I get Mitra and Varuṇa by means of my songs of praise'. Cf. Kāuṣ. Br. Up. 2. 7, sam tad vṛṇkte. Next, ni-varj 'throw down' is common, easily derivable from the idea of

'work down'. Even tho it is not quite as direct as 'lay down' it furnishes a preferable start, because 'lay' is in any case not the fundamental idea of varj. E. g., ni duryoṇā āvr̥ṇaṇ mṛdhrāvācam (or °vācaḥ) 5. 29. 10; 32. 8; prthivyāṇi ni krivim . . . avṛṇak 2. 17. 6. Finally, úd-varj in RV. 6. 58. 2: āṣṭrāṇi pūṣā çithirāṃ udvárivr̥jat, 'Pūṣan vigorously sticking out his easily moved goad'.

For the history of the root's interpretation svav̥j and svá-vṛkti are very interesting. Sāyaṇa renders svav̥j at 10. 38. 5 by, svayam eva chettāram (after Nighaṇṭu; see above p. 273); but he blunders into something partially correct in glossing svávṛktibhiḥ at 10. 21. 1 by, svayam *kṛtābhir* doṣavarjitābhiḥ *stutibhiḥ*. The Pet. Lexs. render by 'sich aneignend', and 'an-eignung'. This reflects the meaning of the root in the middle in the sense of 'obtain', very frequent in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras (see below, p. 286). That Roth was willing to separate so completely vṛkti in svá-vṛkti from vṛkti in su-vṛkti (his suvr̥kti) is one of the curiosa in the history of Vedic interpretation. Grassmann adopts Roth's rendering for sva-v̥j, 'in seine gewalt bringend, an sich reiðend', but his experiences with the root elsewhere induce him to give svá-vṛkti its due by, 'eigene darreichung (an lied und opfer)'; cf. his article su-vṛkti.<sup>1</sup> Ludwig (1023) renders svav̥j in 10. 38. 5 by 'einer selbst sich rettend', but (425) svá-vṛkti in 10. 21. 1 by 'eigene zurüstung'. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* I. 154 deals with svav̥j regardless of svávṛkti; he imports too much into the word when (with a view to the vihavá, 'rival call') he renders svav̥j 'einer der sich hat einfangen lassen'; this could not possibly be harmonized with svá-vṛkti. Foy, KZ. xxvi. 245 treats svávṛkti (without regard to sva-v̥j) as 'mit zurücksetzung der eigenen person'. But on p. 253 he renders svav̥j as 'selbsttätig', and thus joins me for the first and only time among all interpreters in a clear statement that the verb varj means 'perform'. I can not see any way of connecting the two words except by taking svá-vṛkti in the now established sense 'by own (pious) work': RV. 10. 21. 1, ágnīm ná svávṛktibhir hótāraṃ tvā vṛṇīmahe, yajñāya stīrṇābarhiṣe, 'as is suitable for Agni, we choose thee with our (pious) work as Hotar for the sacrifice with the

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps he notes, as I do, that the verse in question, RV. 10. 21. 1 contains the word barhís (stīrṇābarhiṣe).

barhís spread'. The parallelism between svávṛktibhir and stīrṇábarhiṣe is unmistakable. Hence sva-vṛj in 10. 38. 5 does not mean 'der an sich reiðt', nor 'der sich hat einfangen lassen', but, 'he who does for himself'. It is parallel to common Indra epithets like svá-tavas, svá- kṣatra, sāt-pati, svá-pati, and svaráj. With *svavṛjam* tvám çuçráva cf. turns like, ékaṁ nú tvā sāt-patim páñcajanya . . . çṛṇomi, RV. 5. 12. 11; or, yuvám in-drāgni tavástamā çuçrava, 1. 109. 5. I particularly invite the reader to make any adjustment between sva-vṛj and svá-vṛkti which will elude the idea of 'work' as their common constituent.

At this stage we return to the simple root varj (without prefixes). We have found it hitherto in the sense 'work', 'do', 'practice' in the sense of the Rishis, 'practice hymns and ritual performance'. As regard the doing of ritual performance, the practice of doing the barhís has obtained a special hold on the word. Now the 'done' barhís lies in order, in line, in a row. This is certainly employed as a figure of speech for 'laying out' or 'destroying' in RV. 1. 63. 7:

tvám ha tyád indra sápta yúdhyan  
púro vajrin purukútsāya dardaḥ,  
barhír ná yát sudāse vṛthā várk,

'Thou, O Indra with thy vajra (club) hast destroyed the seven castles, battling for Purukutsa, when like barhís easily (or, quickly, vṛthā) thou didst do them for Sudās.' That 'do them' is in effect here 'fell them' must not be used to argue that varj means primarily 'lay': it simply happens that performing the barhís act is inseparable from laying it on the ground. Foy, KZ. xxvi. 242, note 1, prettily draws attention to the fact that the barhís comparison occurs also with another verb for 'destroy' namely ní çīçāti, RV. 7. 18. 11.

The same figure of speech implying the comparison with barhís is very certainly present in RV. 6. 18. 8, vṛṇák pípruḥ çámbaraṁ çúṣṇam indraḥ, and in RV. 6. 26. 3, tvám kútsāya çúṣṇam dāçúṣe vark. I prefer this to regarding varj here as detached from ní varj which occurs in similar connections (see above); or as in a totally primary sense 'to do one' (slang), that is, 'to destroy'.

I have reserved one instance of varj with barhís in the same verse because it shows perhaps better than other case



how difficult it is to operate with other assumptions than ours. RV. 1. 142. 5<sup>1</sup> reads:

strñānáso yatásruce barhís yajñé svadhvaré,  
vrñjé devávyacastamam indrāya çárma sapráthaḥ.

Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* i. 152, claims that varj with barhís is synonymous with star with barhís. In a general way that is true, of course, but this passage shows after all that varj adds to or refines the thought. On the other hand Foy, *KZ.* xxvi. 244, who is well aware of the special kinship that exists between varj and barhís, disassociates them here, makes vrñjé govern Indra understood, and that in the sense of 'abfangen'.<sup>2</sup> The verse is quite clear: '(Priests) holding forth the sacrificial ladle, spreading the barhís at the well-arranged sacrifice, there is prepared most ample reception for the gods, broad shelter for Indra.' I take vrñjé as = passive 3d sing., with Ludwig (773); cf. 1. 83. 6; 10. 110. 4; the dubious parsing of vrñjé does not in the least interfere with its lexical sense.<sup>3</sup>

I have said before that uncompounded varj is moribund in the Mantras. Outside of the sphere of the barhís there are indeed surprisingly few cases. Now the fundamental meaning of the root under any reasonable assumption is so general as to preclude precise definition. In AV. 12. 5. 18 the Brahman's cow when withheld (brahmagavi) performs all sorts of injuries by means of her bodily actions: 'she is a thunderbolt when she runs; razor-edged when she looks'. In st. 22 she is total destruction, kárñāu varivarjáyanti. Whitney translates, 'when twisting about her ears'; Henry, p. 211, 'when she shakes her ears'. Neither of these renderings have any basis in the lexicology of varj: 'vigorously working her ears' would do just as well. Again at 7. 24. 4 Roth and others<sup>4</sup> take várivrjat as 'turning in'. The passage reads: várivrjat sthávirebhiḥ (sc. áçvāih) suçiprāsmé dádhad vřṣaṇam çúsmam indra 'turning in

<sup>1</sup> This is a barhís āprī; it is well to read the others of the same kind in the RV.: 1. 13. 5; 188. 4; 2. 3. 4; 3. 4. 4; 5. 5. 4; 7. 2. 4; 9. 5. 4; 10. 70. 4; 110. 4. Especially 7. 2. 4, and 10. 110. 4, both of which show varj like the present stanza.

<sup>2</sup> This is Geldner's initial meaning of the root.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* to 1. 142. 5. More convenient would be to take vrñjé as third plur. = vrñjáte, on the analogy perhaps of çére: çérate, and duhré: duhráte (Whitney, *Skt. Gr.* §§ 629, 935).

<sup>4</sup> See Oldenberg, *RV. Notes*.

with his strong (bay horses)' etc. I miss the intensive feature of the word; Ludwig (576), 'ausholend (mit der waffe) in verein mit den starken'; Sāyaṇa, *ṣatrūn bhr̥ṣaṃ hīnsan*. I could conveniently make use of Sāyaṇa for my proposition, but his is a guess like any other guess. It should be pointed out, however, that *sthāvirebhiḥ* may refer to *vājāḥ* (6. 1. 11; 37. 5), and that *vāja* and *ṣusma* are companions in 4. 22. 3; 6. 32. 4, which makes it more probable that *sthāvirebhiḥ* in our stanza also refers to *vājāḥ*. In that case *vārivr̥jat* may mean 'acting mightily', something like *prā vājebhis tirata* in 7. 57. 5, *vājebhir jigyuḥ* in 8. 19. 18; *kṣāyan vājāḥ* in 3. 25. 3. RV. 4. 7. 10: *yād asya vāto anuvāti ṣocīḥ, vṛṇākti tigmām atasēsu jihvām*. Ludwig (334), 'schlingt seine scharfe zunge er um das reisig'; Grassmann, 'er streckt die spitze zunge in das buschwerk'; Oldenberg, SBE. xlv. 344, 'he turns his sharp tongue among the dry brushwood'; Geldner (p. 152), 'dann klappt er seine zunge um in den hölzern'; Foy (p. 242), 'dann legt er seine spitze zunge in den hölzern nieder'. All renderings are of the general sort—'work his tongue into' would be just as good—except Geldner's who visualizes keenly, but whence does he get his 'umklappen', considering that he has nothing like it in the list of the meanings which he unfolds for *varj* on the same page? In RV. 8. 79. 5 occurs the locution, *vavr̥jyās tṛṣyataḥ kāmam*. Grassmann, 'die begierde des durstigen stillen'; Ludwig, 'mögen sie des durstenden begierde erfüllen (beseitigen)'. Geldner, *ibid.*, p. 144, 'mögen sie das verlangen des durstigen (Indra) einfangen (!)', namely that he may quench his thirst with them; Foy, *ibid.*, p. 244, 'mögen sie das verlangen des durstigen (Indra) hemmen'. But why not, 'may they work the desire of the thirsty one', that is satisfy him? Cf. locutions like RV. 3. 50. 1: *āsya havis tanvāḥ kāmam ṛdhyāḥ*, 'may the havis satisfy the craving of his (Indra's) body'; or, RV. 10. 106. 11: *ā bhūtāṇṇo aṣvīnoḥ kāmam aprāḥ*, 'Bhūtāṇṇa has satisfied the craving of the Aṣvins'. Ludwig's 'erfüllen' shows that he had *ā pr* in mind. In any case most of the renderings just given are under the influence of 'turn', 'twist', the assumed start values of the lexicons, now generally discredited.

As regards the later uses of the root, *prā-varj*, 'to put a pot on the fire' (already RV. 5. 30. 15), and *ādhi-varj* 'to put over the fire' occasion no difficulty. The chief use of the simple

root in later times is in the Brāhmaṇas. There the middle is used in the sense of 'appropriate something (accusative), usually but not always belonging to somebody else (genitive)'. The appropriation is, of course, advantageous<sup>1</sup> to him that appropriates. Thus TB. 1. 5. 6. 4: *vāiṣvadevena caturo māso 'vr̥njata indrarājānaḥ*, '(the gods) whose king is Indra through the *vāiṣvadeva*-sacrifice appropriated the four months'. TS. 3. 1. 7. 3: *sa etaj jamadagnir vihavayam apaṣyat, tena vāi sa vasiṣṭhasyendriyaṁ vīryam avr̥nkta*, 'Jamadagni saw this *vihavya* (rival call) hymn; by its means he appropriated the strength and manhood of *Vasiṣṭha*'. This use begins in a single instance in RV. 8. 76. 1: *imāṁ nū māyinaṁ huva indram iṣānam ōjasā, marútvanthaṁ ná vr̥njāse*, 'I call Indra and the Maruts to secure them'.<sup>2</sup> It is scarcely necessary to say that the idea of 'appropriate for one's self', 'secure for one's self' may be derived from 'work for one's self'.

I would expressly ask the reader to weigh critically the instances of the simple root outside of its occurrences with *barhis*. In the sphere in which *svr̥kti* is central there is no escape from the meaning 'work', 'perform'. But the reader should not forget that after this my interpretations are teleological, and that the idea of 'work' is immensely plastic. Among the prefixed forms *pári varj*: *pairi vareṣ* is also very significant. But outside of these materials there are often other imaginable starting points. A careful perusal of earlier suggestions shows this, as well as the almost incredible divergence of the interpreters' mental operations. There may be other roots *varj* at the bottom of the variegated connections in which their forms occur. Comparative Etymology has brought in Lat. *vergo* and *urgeo*; Greek *ἐργω*, *παύβος*, and *πέμβομαι*; Goth. *vairpan* and *vraiks*; Middle High German *renken*; and many words of other languages, some one or other of which may be to the point. On the other hand the connection of some occurrences with the idea of work has flitted across the stage, as I found in the course of this investigation after

<sup>1</sup> See Pet. Lexs.; Ludwig, *Der Rig-Veda*, iv. 250 ff.; Delbrück, *Alt-indische Syntax*, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Ludwig (614) renders *ná vr̥njāse* by 'um ihn nicht mir zu entfremden'; in his commentary, 'ihn ganz gewiß zu gewinnen, zu eigen zu machen'; Grassmann, 'er weiche nicht'; Geldner, *ibid.* p. 144, 'daß er sich nicht (von andern) abfangen lasse'; Foy, *ibid.* p. 244, 'um ihn abzufangen'.

proceeding with my own idea. J. Darmestetter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 10, thought of the connection of *svṛkti* with Avestan *hvaršta* 'well performed'. Roth, in the article cited at the beginning of this paper, mentions that some scholars prior to him had connected *svṛkti* with *ἐργον*. Hillebrandt, in his *Vedachrestomathie*, assumes that *vṛjana* in 7. 61. 4 and elsewhere means 'activity', being connected with Avestan *varež*. Foy, *ibid.* p. 253, takes *svavṛj* as 'selbsttätig', and *ibid.* p. 247 connects other cases of *vṛjana* = Avestan *verēžēna* 'yeomanry', from the same roots. Cf. also Collitz, *Bezz. Beitr.* iii, p. 196; Oldenberg, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1890 (nr. 10), p. 415.

There is one derivation from a root *varj* in Sanskrit which may be easily and safely picked out of the list of its derivatives, namely *úrj* and related words. There is a certain misapprehension concerning the word, existing by the side of a perfectly sound conception of it. The misapprehension consists in associating it *primarily* with the idea of 'strength', 'act of strengthening', and consequent etymologies. From *Pet. Lex.* and Grassmann on the word has been connected with *ὀργάνω* 'swell' (*ūrjā*, 'kraftfülle' = *ὀργή* 'passion', 'wrath' = Old Irish *ferg*, *ferc*, 'wrath').<sup>1</sup> This etymology strikes neither the average nor the fundamental idea of the word, as any lexical treatment of *úrj* must show. The word means 'food'; it represents the act of 'eating'; anything like 'strength', or 'manifestation of strength' is clearly secondary in the lexicology of the word.

In general the word is associated with words for 'eat' and 'drink': *pinv*, *duh*, *aṣ*, *kṣar*; *pitu*, *payas*, *pivas*, and *ghṛta*. But we must trust most its constant association with *payas*, in the form *ūrjas-* which comes from a later time. This stem *ūrjas-* is a formal imitation of *payas*<sup>2</sup> with which it runs parallel to such an extent as to have settled finally into a close formulaic companionship: *ūrjasvantaḥ payasvantaḥ* AV. 7. 60. 2; HG. 1. 29. 1; *ūrjasvatī payasvatī* AV. 9. 3. 16; AÇ. 1. 9. 1; ÇÇ. 1. 14. 5; *ūrjasvatī ca payasvatī ca* MS. 4. 13. 9; 212. 3; TB. 3. 5. 10. 2; ÇB. 1. 9. 1. 7; ÇÇ. 8. 19. 1; *ūrjasvatī cāsi payasvatī ca* VS. 1. 27; ÇB. 1. 2. 5. 11; *ūrjasvatī ca me payasvatī cāidhi* TB. 3. 7. 6. 6; ApÇ. 4. 6. 2; *ūrjasvatyaḥ payasvatyaḥ* Nighaṇṭu 1. 13. The

<sup>1</sup> See Brugmann, *Grundriß* I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 474, 554, 690.

<sup>2</sup> Congeneric assimilations of this sort have produced *sāhantama*, to match *vṛtrahāntama*; and *sāhuri* after *tāturi*.

meaning of ūrj is brought out most clearly in ūrjād, 'eating food' (Nirukta 3. 8 — annāda). The Nighaṇṭu 2.7 and Kāutsavya 88<sup>1</sup> list ūrk among the anna-nāmāni; cf. AB. 8. 8. 5.

Grassmann in his *Lexicon*, but not in his *Translation*, once thought that vrjāna in the refrain RV. 1. 165. 15<sup>d</sup>ff., vidyāmeṣām vrjānam jirādānum, was an equivalent of ūrj. I believe that the Nighaṇṭu's (2. 9) inclusion of this word among the words 'strength' (balanāmāni) is based upon the same belief. But the expression iṣo vrjāneṣu in 7. 99. 6 is of itself sufficient to show that vrjāna is not parallel to iṣ, but is something which may contain iṣ 'strength'; cf. most recently Foy, KZ. xxxiv. 248.

If I were better acquainted with the prehistory of Lithuanian valgyti I should derive ūrj and valgyti from an I. E. root ūelg or ūelg 'eat'.

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<sup>1</sup> By the way, the item in Kāutsavya 115 (Bolling and von Negelein, p. 315, top) for which the MSS. have dhruvadrakṣam, dhuvadrakṣam, and dhruvaikṣam is surely dhruvaṛkṣam, 'the polar and the bear', an interesting dvandva otherwise unknown to the literature.

*Grammatical Notes on the Isinai language (Philippines).—*

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1. Of the many minor idioms of the Philippine Islands that are rapidly becoming extinct owing to the encroachment of their stronger neighbors, the Isinai, also called Inmeas, is one of the least known. It is spoken only in three mountain towns, Aritau (Aritao), Bambang, and Dupax, in the old province of Nueva Vizcaya, central North Luzón, by a people resembling the Igorots of the adjoining province of Benguet.

2. *Bibliography.*

Rocamora, Fr. Francisco, *Catecismo de la Doctrina Cristiana en la lengua de Isinay ó Inmeas, corregido, añadido y redactado en mejor forma del antiguo manuscrito*. Manila, Imprenta de Santo Tomás, 1876, 176 pages.

This catechism is a reprint of an earlier edition whose date is not known, but supposed by Dr. Pardo de Tavera to have been between 1830 and 1840, at which time Padre Rocamora (d. 1851) was vicar of Dupax.

Conant, C. E., *Isinai-English Word List* (MS) compiled from the foregoing at Baguio, Benguet, P. I., 1907.

3. *The Indonesian vowels in Isinai.*

Indonesian *a*, *i*, and *u* regularly remain unchanged in Isinai, e. g., *ama* 'father', *ina* 'mother', *pitu* 'seven', *buña* 'fruit'. The indifferent vowel, *pepet*, regularly becomes *o*, e. g., *opat* (IN *ěpat*) 'four', *onom* (IN *ěněm*) 'six', *'anon* (Tagalog *kanin*, Bisaya *kan'on*) 'food'. But an unaccented *pepet* vowel of the root word is lost when a formative element is added, e. g., *Isn. napnu* (IN *na-pěnu*) 'full', *'atlunar* (= *'a-tlu-n-ar* to IN *katělu*) 'the third', *Isn. 'anomnar* (= *'a-nom-n-ar* to IN *ka-ěněm*) 'the

sixth'. In the last two examples the final syllable *-ar* is the postpositiv definit article (see 7), and the *-n-* connecting it with the root is taken by analogy from *maunar* (= *ma-una-ar*, cf. Tagalog *nauna*, Bisaya *nahauna*) 'first', where it is radical.

Any unaccented penultimate vowel of a dissyllabic root is regularly lost before *y* (<IE *l* by palatalization, see 4), after which process the *y* tends to vocalization, becoming *i* or *e*, e. g., Isn. *tiu* (IN *tělu*) 'three', Isn. *weu* (IN *walu*) 'eight', Isn. *piu* (IN *pulu*) 'ten'.

#### 4. Indonesian consonants in Isinai.

With the exception of the changes about to be indicated, Indonesian consonants remain unchanged in Isinai.

Indonesian *k* regularly appears as *hameza*, e. g., Isn. 'anon (Tag. *kanin*, Bis. *kan'on*), 'food', Isn. *ana* (IN *anak*) 'son, daughter, young', Isn. 'a (IN *ka*) 'thou', Isn. *a* (IN *ak*) 'I', Isn. *lea'i* (Tag. Bis. *lalaki*) 'male'. But *k* appears in a few sporadic examples, like *kasalanan* 'sinner', doubtless borrowings from neighboring languages. In Arabic loan words both the *k* sounds, ك and ق, become a strong aspirate in Isinai, e. g., Isn. *ohom* (Ar. and Malay حكم) 'judge', Isn. *alah* (Ar. عرق, Malay اراق) 'arak, wine'.

Original *l*, when intervocalic and folloed by a tonic vowel, is palatalized, passing on to *y* (*l* > *ly* > *y*), which, after loss of the preceding atonic vowel, tends to vocalize, becoming *i* or close *e*, and uniting with the folloing vowel to form a difthong, e. g., Isn. *tiu* (IN *tělu*) 'three', Isn. *weu* (IN *walu*) 'eight', Isn. *piu* (IN *pulu*) 'ten', Isn. *lea'i* (Tag. Bis. *lalaki*) 'male'. This change of *l* to *y* by palatalization folloed by delingualization may be observd in the most diverse fields of speech evolution. Within Austronesian territory it is seen in the Palau language (Caroline Islands), where every *l* becomes *y* with subsequent partial or total vocalization to *i* or close *e*, e. g., Palau *im* (IN *lima* > *lyim* > *yim* > *iim* > *im*) 'five', Palau *búiel* (IN *bulan* > *bulyel* > *buyel* > *búiel*) 'moon'<sup>1</sup>. For the Indo-European family, compare the *l* (*ll*) *mouillée* in French, and the change of Latin *ll* to Spanish *ll*, which is preservd in Castilian, but has become *y* dialectically in Spain

<sup>1</sup> For further examples in Palau, see Conant, *Notes on the Phonology of the Palau Language*, JAOS, vol. 35, part i.

and in Spanish America, e. g., Lat. *caballum* > Span. *caballo* > dial. *cabayo*. The same change occurs in certain of the Finno-Ugrian languages<sup>1</sup>.

Isinai preserved the original *l* unchanged except under the conditions above stated, e. g., Isn. *lima* 'five', *tulid* (Tag. Bis. *tul'id*) 'straight'.

### 5. The *RGH* law.

The Indonesian *RGH* consonant appears in Isinai as *g* initially, as 'a guttural spirant ʒ or χ medially (the Spanish orthography employing *g* or *j* interchangeably), and is lost in final position, e. g., Isn. (Span. orthog.) *gaijaya* (Bikol *gayagáya*, Ngaju Dayak *haihai*) 'rejoice, exult'; Isn. *dagat* (Tag. Bis. *dágat*, Pampanga *dayat*, Ida'an [Borneo] *raha!*) 'sea'; Isn. *doñe* (Bis. *dunug*, Tag. *dinig*, Mal. *deñar*) 'hear'.

### 6. The *RLD* law.

The *RLD* consonant appears as *d* initially, as *r* medially, and as *d* or (much more commonly) *r* finally, e. g., Isn. *dua* 'two', but 'aruanar' 'the second', *danum* (IN *ranum*, *lanum*, *danum*) 'water'; Isn. *tulid* or *tulir* (Tag. Bis. *tul'id*) 'straight'; Isn. *bayar* (Bis. etc. *bayad*) 'pay'.

### 7. The Isinai postpositiv article.

The most striking phenomenon in Isinai speech is its treatment of the definit article. Its forms are *ar*, *ardari* and *war*. Of these, *ar* is both prepositiv and postpositiv, *ardari* postpositiv only, and *war* prepositiv only. All words requiring the definit article take a postpositiv, *ar* for the singular and *ardari* for the plural, e. g., *tahu* 'man (*homo*)', *tahuar* 'the man'; *tahuardari* 'the men'. A prepositiv, *ar* or *war*, accompanies the postpositiv under the following syntactic conditions: *War* is used when the word stands in the relation of subject of a copulativ verb, and *ar* when it stands in the relation of predicate. The following example will illustrate both cases: *War Espiritu Santoar ot ar athunar personas* 'the Holy Ghost is the third person'. *Ar* and *war* are used for singular and plural alike, e. g., *ar* (or *war*) *bubayardari* 'the women', but, as explained

<sup>1</sup> See Szinnyei, *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig 1910, p. 43.



above, they must always be accompanied by the postpositiv article. Under al other syntactic conditions, the postpositiv article only is used, e. g., *namalsat biopar on pio'ar* 'made the heaven and the erth', *inan di Diosar* 'mother of God', *bendita at babayardarin lom'an* 'blessed among al women'. A noun and its dependent genitiv ar considerd as a unit in the treatment of the article, the postpositiv being appended to the last word of the group, and the prepositiv, if it be required, being placed befor the group, e. g., *benditar* (<*bendita* + *ar*) *bu'nan di putumar* (<*putu* + *m* + *ar*) 'blessed (is) the fruit of thy womb' (lit. the fruit of womb-thy the).

The postposition of the article is a well-known linguistic fenomenon. Examples of it elsewhere in Indonesia ar the Sangir and Bugis -e, as in Sang. *asu-e*, Bugis *asu-w-e* 'the dog'<sup>1</sup>.

For Indo-European compare Old Norse and Mod. Norwegian *land-et* 'the land' where, however, the article is also prepositiv when used with a qualifying adjectiv, e. g., ON *et storra land*, Norw. *det store land* 'the great land'. Moreover ON furnishes sporadic examples of the double article in striking analogy to the Isinai usage, e. g., ON *en litla q-en* 'the little river', *en afre hus-en* 'the upper house, i. e., story', *enn pripe mapr-enn* 'the third man'<sup>2</sup>. With the last example compare Isn. *ar allun-ar tahu* 'the third man', where, however, the postpositiv article is appended to the adjectiv insted of to the noun as in ON. The definit article is postpositiv in Bulgarian, e. g., *ayma-ta* 'the word'.

### 8. Conclusion.

This brief study of a few characteristics of a primitiv and moribund idiom spoken in the North Luzón mountains givs us further evidence of the independent development of identical fonologic and syntactic processes in widely diverse linguistic territories.

<sup>1</sup> See Brandstetter, *Sprachvergl. Charakterbild eines Indon. Idioms*, Lucerne 1911, p. 87, and *Der Artikel des Indonesischen*, Lucerne 1913, section 22 *et passim*.

<sup>2</sup> See Heusler, *Altisländisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg 1913, p. 142.

*Deccan Parallels to the Burj-Namah.* — By Dr. VICOAJI  
DINSHAW, Mahaboobnagar, India.

Recently Dr. Louis H. Gray very kindly sent me a reprint from this Journal (Vol. 33, pp. 281-294), in which the section on Parsi-Persian omen calendars interested me very greatly, because in it I saw a very close parallel to the stanzas consulted by the Muhammadans here in the Deccan, when they see the new moon. On comparing these with the Burj-Namah, I find that out of the twelve omens mentioned in these Deccan stanzas about eight agree with those of the Burj-Namah. I will, however, first quote these Deccan stanzas, and show their parallelism.

ماه محرم زر بهیین — اندر صفر آینه  
ماه ربیع آب روان — آخر غم ای مه نگر  
ماه جمادی نقره بهیین — پیری بهیین در آخرین  
ماه رجب مصحف بهیین — شعبان گیاه سبزتر  
شمشیر در رمضان نگر — شوال جامه سبزتر  
دلخده بینی کودی — دلخچه دختر خوب تر

TRANSLATION.

(In the) month (of) Muharram look on gold, in Šafar look on a mirror,

(In) the (first) Rabi' look on the running waters, in the last (Rabi') look on a lamb, oh! thou the moon-faced!<sup>1</sup>

(In) the first Jumāda look on silver, look on an old man in the last (i. e. the second Jumāda).

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<sup>1</sup> If in this line we read ماه for مه, we may translate, 'in the last Rabi' month, o (friend) look on a lamb'.

In Rajab look on the Koran, (in) Sha'bān look on the green (lit. greener) grass.

Look on the scimitar in Ramadān, in Shawwāl look on a green (lit. greener) robe.

(In) Dhu-l-Kā'da look on a young lad, (in) Dhu-l-Hijja (look on) a fair maid (lit. a fairer daughter).

### PARALLELISM.

جمادی الثانی — پیر = جزا — پیر  
 ربیع الاول — آبروان = خرجنگ — آبروان  
 صفر — آینه = میزان — آینه  
 محرم — زر = میزان — زر  
 جمادی الاول — نقره = قوس — سیم  
 القعدة — بینى كودى = دلو — مبین كودى  
 رجب — مصفف = جدی — اشیم وهو  
 دلو ایسا اهو پریو }  
 شعبان — سبزہ = خرجنگ — سبزہ

These stanzas are believed in, and acted upon, by the Muhammadans of Persian descent and by pure Persians; other Muhammadans, such as the Arabs and the descendants of the Turks, who are also plentiful here, neither believe in them nor go by them; indeed, some of the latter think it against Islam to do so. It is true that the Hindus, too, have a superstition as to what articles or things are auspicious to look upon after seeing the new moon, but these are quite different to the Burj-Namah and the Deccan stanzas, and do not vary month by month as in them.

These facts show that the Burj-Namah has not originated from India, and that the Deccan stanzas have followed the Burj-Namah. Moreover, one cannot but feel convinced that Gray is right when he says that these Parsi-Persian calendar omens were incorporated into Zoroastrianism from the Babylonians. To my mind these omens were believed in by the Zoroastrians at the time of the Arab conquest; these and other superstitions formed part and parcel of their lives and were so firmly rooted in their hearts that even Muhammadanism was not able to eradicate them; the beliefs were cherished by the Persians

even after they had left the faith of their ancestors and had adopted that of Islam. On the other hand, the Arabs of that time never cared for them at all, being directly trained by their Prophet to believe in but One Power guiding the destiny of men. Again, the early history of the rise of Islam does not produce any proofs of the prevalence of any such superstitions; there was then only cheerful obedience to the will of Allāh. It is only after the conquest of Persia by the Arabs that we see these superstitions, because, as is well known, the Persians adopted the faith of Islam only outwardly, and in their heart of hearts they ever cherished a tender regard for the religion and customs of their ancestors.

The strongest proof, to my mind, is that had these beliefs been prevalent amongst the Arabs before the conquest of Persia, the present-day Arabs ought to have it still with them (which, as I have said above, is not the case); it is the exclusive belief of the Persian-Muhammadans or their descendants in the Deccan.

As I have said in my book, *The Date and Country of Zarathushtra* (Hyderabad, 1912), it is not the Semites alone (Babylonians) who tried to influence the Iranian mind. Long before the advent of the Semites one branch of the Iranians whom I have styled the Kyanians and who separated early from their brethren, the Medo-Persians, had arrived at the lands round about Urumiah and Van, by quite a separate route, ages before the other two. This branch lived in these parts, struggling with the inhabitants, the Hittites and the Sumero-Accadians, whom the Iranians included under the common appellation of "Turanians" because of a similar form of faith. Traces of this struggle are plentiful in the Yashts; a history unfortunately believed to be legendary, but which, I hope, will prove to be true if further excavations are carried out by experts round about Takht-i-Sulaiman, which was the rallying point, or rather, the haven of refuge for the kings of Iran in times of trouble and when hotly pursued by enemies.

Leaving aside the history of the Yashts, we find vivid earlier pictures of this struggle in the Gathas of Zarathushtra, because, as I have said in my book already mentioned, the deities of the Sumero-Accadians (Ishmu and Akkimu) are found under an evil aspect in the Gathas as Aēshma and Akoman; and

the only form of worship at this period — the worship of the evil spirits alone<sup>1</sup> (with the object of keeping them in good humor) — is vehemently denounced by Zarathushtra because he saw some of his tribes (the Kavis, Karpans, and the Usigs) adopting through fear this worship.

In conclusion, I would draw attention to the fact that this part of India (Deccan) is now what western Asia was in ancient times, a congery of nations, who have in most cases preserved the traditions of their ancestors intact. This region is, therefore, peculiarly important for tracing the origin of ancient traditions, etc., and I shall be only too glad to help scholars who may be in doubt as to the origin of any such.

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<sup>1</sup> I say *alone*, because the Sumero-Accadians know nothing about the Benign Spirit or Spirits, this latter conception having originated with the Semites and Aryans.

*Contributions to the History of Greek Philosophy in the Orient, Syriac Texts, IV: A Syriac Version of the λόγος κεφαλαιώδης περὶ ψυχῆς πρὸς Τατιανόν of Gregory Thaumaturgus.*—Edited by GIUSEPPE FURLANI, Ph. D., London.

One of the manuscripts of chief importance for the history of Greek philosophy among the Syrians is the Add. 14,658 of the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> It contains the following tracts of philosophical contents.

(1) A work of the archiater Sergius of Rās'ain on the *Categories* of Aristotle (f. 1<sup>a</sup>—61<sup>a</sup>). It is not a work on Logic in general, as has been stated by Renan,<sup>2</sup> Wright,<sup>3</sup> and lastly repeated by Anton Baumstark.<sup>4</sup> As book I. of the tract is completely wanting and in the subscription the title is not repeated we are not able to say what was really the title Sergius had given it. As it is not—as already stated—a work on Logic in general, but only on a small part of it, the *Categories*, the title cannot have been ܩܬܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ. It is therefore not identical with the ܩܬܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ cited by Ebedjesu in his Catalogue.<sup>5</sup> Besides that it must be emphatically denied that Ebedjesu cites here the title of a work of Sergius. He means only to say that Sergius has written some tracts on logical subjects, some ὑπο-

<sup>1</sup> William Wright: *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, acquired since the year 1838*, [London] 1870, 1154—1160.

<sup>2</sup> *Lettre à M. Reinaud, sur quelques manuscrits syriaques du Musée Britannique contenant des traductions d'auteurs grecs profanes et des traités philosophiques*, *Journal Asiatique*, Avril 1852, p. 320; C'est sans doute le traité qu' Ebedjesu, dans son catalogue, désigne sous le titre de ܩܬܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ, Commentaires sur la Dialectique.

<sup>3</sup> l. c. p. 1154.

<sup>4</sup> Baumstark: *Aristoteles bei den Syrern vom V—VIII. Jahrhundert. Syrisch-arabische Biographien des Aristoteles. Syrische Commentare zur εἰσαγωγή des Porphyrios, Erster Band*, Leipzig 1900, p. 160.

<sup>5</sup> Assemani: *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, tom. III, pars 1, p. 87.

μνήματα λογικά. We have the same work in an abridged recension in the manuscript Petermann 9<sup>1</sup> of the Königlische Bibliothek at Berlin.<sup>2</sup> Here the title runs ܡܢܗܡܐ ܠܘܓܝܟܐ ܕܡܢܗܡܐ ܠܘܓܝܟܐ. I think there is no reason to doubt that the tract ܡܢܗܡܐ ܠܘܓܝܟܐ of the manuscript of the British Museum bore the same title.

(2) A Syriac version of the *εἰσαγωγή* of Porphyry (f. 61<sup>a</sup>—75<sup>a</sup>).<sup>3</sup> It has been published by A. Freimann from the Berlin Manuscript Petermann 9.<sup>4</sup> Part of it is preserved also in the Add. 14, 618. In a Syriac manuscript of the Vatican and in one of the Bibliothèque nationale there is another version of the *εἰσαγωγή* due to Athanasius II. of Balad.

(3) A *διαίρεσις* of ܡܢܗܡܐ (οὐσία). It occurs in nearly all the Syriac manuscripts of philosophical content.

(4) A Syriac version of the *κατηγορίαι* of Aristotle. Renan and Wright thought that it is due probably to Sergius of Rās'ain.<sup>5</sup> R. Gottheil has given in the introduction to his edition of the translation of the *Categories* made by George, Bishop of the Arabic tribes (*Hebraica*, IX, 166—175), a general survey of the Syriac versions of this Aristotelian work. This version is by Sergius of Rās'ain.<sup>6</sup>

(5) A grammatical tract, which has lost its real title, as indicate the two words now prefixed to it: ܡܢܗܡܐ ܠܘܓܝܟܐ. It does not go over the same ground as the *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* of Aristotle,<sup>7</sup> but is wholly grammatical in its content. Only at the beginning it starts from the concept of *λόγος* as laid down in the *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* (f. 92<sup>a</sup>—94<sup>a</sup>). I am not able to say whether Sergius is the author of it or not, but I would rather incline to the second part of the alternative.

<sup>1</sup> The publications concerning the philosophical works of this MS have been cited by me in *Contributi alla storia della filosofia greca in Oriente, testi siriaci*, I. *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, vol. XXIII, pp. 154—159.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, XXIII. Band, Verzeichnis der syrischen Handschriften* von Eduard Sachau, Berlin 1899, Abt. 1, 327.

<sup>3</sup> Wright l. c. 1156.

<sup>4</sup> A. Freimann: *Die Isagoge des Porphyrius in der syrischen Übersetzung*, Berlin 1897.

<sup>5</sup> Wright l. c. 1156.

<sup>6</sup> Wright: *A short History of Syriac Literature*, London 1894, p. 91, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Renan, *Journal Asiatique* l. c. 330.

(6) A tract beginning with the words **ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ** . . . **ܐܢܝ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ**. Renan and Wright thought it treats about matters contained in the *περὶ ἑρμηνείας*.<sup>1</sup> I have examined it, but I cannot confirm their statement. It is a fragment of a work which deals with the *Analytica Priora* and gives a description of the syllogisms. It is not identical with the treatise "on the Syllogisms in the *Analytica (Priora)*" of Aristotle by Severus Sabocht preserved in the Add. 17, 156.

(7) A treatise by Sergius of Rās'ain on the Causes of the Universe, **ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ**. It gives the chief ideas of the Aristotelian *περὶ οὐρανοῦ* (f. 99<sup>b</sup>—107<sup>b</sup>).

(7) A Syriac version of the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *περὶ κόσμου πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον* made by Sergius, published by A. de Lagarde in *Analecta Syriaca*, Lipsiae-Londinii 1858, pp. 134—158. This translation has been analysed by Victor Ryssel in *Über den textkritischen Werth der syrischen Übersetzungen griechischer Klassiker, I. Teil*, Leipzig 1880, p. 5—48.

(9) A tract on the Soul, ascribed to Aristotle: **ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ**. Wright says that it is not the well-known treatise *περὶ ψυχῆς*, but a wholly different work consisting of five short sections.<sup>3</sup> But it has nothing to do with Aristotle, it is a Syriac version of the *λόγος κεφαλαιώδης περὶ ψυχῆς πρὸς Τατιανόν* by Gregory Thaumaturgus (f. 122<sup>a</sup>—124<sup>b</sup>).

(10) **ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ** by Sergius (f. 124<sup>b</sup>—129<sup>a</sup>).

(11) The well-known **ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ** by Bar-daiṣān (f. 129<sup>a</sup>—141<sup>a</sup>).

(12) Sergius of Rās'ain on the influence of the moon; it is an abridgment of Galenos *περὶ κρίσιμων ἡμερῶν*. It has been edited by Eduard Sachau on p. 10—11 of the *Inedita Syriaca*, Wien 1870.

(13) On the motion of the sun, by the same author, published also by Sachau, l. c. p. 11—12.


(14) The names of the Signs of the Zodiac, according to the school of Bar-daiṣān (f. 149<sup>b</sup>), published by Sachau, l. c. p. 13.

<sup>1</sup> Renan, *Journal Asiatique* l. c. 330 and Wright, l. c. p. 1156.

<sup>2</sup> Wright, l. c. p. 1162.

<sup>3</sup> See also Renan, *Journal Asiatique* l. c. p. 330—332, and *De philosophia peripatetica apud Syros commentatio historica*, Parisiis 1852, p. 28.




(15) A dialogue on the Soul entitled , edited by de Lagarde in the *Analecta Syriaca*, p. 158—167 (f. 150<sup>a</sup>—155<sup>a</sup>).

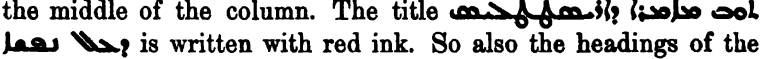
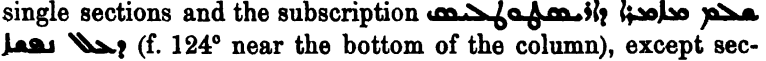
(18) Sayings by Menander, published by Land in *Anecdota Syriaca*, t. I, p. 64. Anton Baumstark has analysed them in *Lucubrationes syro-graecae*, p. 473—487 (*Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, XXI. Supplementband, Leipzig 1894).

(19) Some *ὁρίσμοι* and *διαρρέσεις* of  (f. 168<sup>a</sup>—172<sup>a</sup>).<sup>1</sup>

(20) Sentences of Pythagoras (f. 172<sup>a</sup>—176<sup>a</sup>). See Rubens Duval: *La littérature syriaque*<sup>2</sup>, Paris 1907, p. 258.

(23—25) Sentences of Plato and Platonic definitions (f. 185<sup>b</sup>—186<sup>b</sup>).

(26) The Counsel of Theano (f. 186<sup>b</sup>—188<sup>b</sup>), [published by Sachau l. c. ] see Duval l. c. p. 258, 259 and 260.

This manuscript is on vellum, and is written in a good regular Estrangēlā of the VII<sup>th</sup> century. Each page is divided in two columns.<sup>2</sup> The tract we now publish begins on the f. 122<sup>b</sup> in the middle of the column. The title  is written with red ink. So also the headings of the single sections and the subscription  (f. 124<sup>a</sup> near the bottom of the column), except sections II and III where only the cipher is red coloured (f. 122<sup>a</sup> at the end and f. 123<sup>a</sup> in the middle).

For our edition of the *λόγος περὶ ψυχῆς* we have kept quite closely to the text of the manuscripts before us, although one cannot say that it is a good text. But we thought that it was our duty to correct at least the most palpable and evident errors of the copyist, but without getting any help from the Greek text. Only in one case we were compelled to do so, and to take advantage also of the text published from a Sinaitic manuscript by Agnes Smith Lewis in *Studia Sinaitica* I, p. 19—26.<sup>3</sup>

We must yet remark that the headings of the sections are not written on separate lines. It seems to us that in the middle of f. 123<sup>b</sup> some lines had been erased owing most probably to a fault in copying; some words had been omitted and there-

<sup>1</sup> They are not "*des remaniements du περὶ ἐρμηνείας*", as has been affirmed by Renan (l. c. p. 332).

<sup>2</sup> Wright, l. c. p. 1154.

<sup>3</sup> *Studia Sinaitica* No. 1, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai*, compiled by Agnes Smith Lewis, London 1894.

fore the copyist was compelled to write there with smaller letters.

**L = Add. 14,658 of the British Museum.**

S = 16 of the Syriac MSS in the convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai.

۱۰۵ مدام: ﴿مهلعلل﴾ ۱۰۶ مدام: ﴿مهلعلل﴾ ۱۰۷ مدام: ﴿مهلعلل﴾

**L 122<sup>b</sup>**

S 140<sup>a</sup>[illegible]

5

مَدَارِجُ الْمَوَاتِ وَفِيهَا | أَوْ مَعَ الْحَيِّ يَوْمَ أَوْ مَعَ الْحَيِّ. وَهَذَا  
 فِي مَعَ الْحَيِّ مَدَارِجُ مَبْدَأِ يَوْمٍ مَعَ وَفِي مَعَ مَدَارِجُ  
 مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ  
 وَلَا نَعْمًا. وَفِي مَعَ مَدَارِجُ. هَذَا مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ  
 مَدَارِجُ. مَدَارِجُ لَا مَدَارِجُ مَعَ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ  
 مَدَارِجُ وَفِيهَا مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ  
 وَفِيهَا. وَفِيهَا فِي أَيْمَهُ هَذَا مَعَ الْحَيِّ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ  
 نَعْمًا هَذَا مَعَ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ  
 وَفِي يَوْمٍ يَوْمٍ حَالًا وَفِيهَا. مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ أَوْ مَعَ  
 الْحَيِّ مَدَارِجُ أَوْ مَعَ الْحَيِّ مَدَارِجُ أَوْ مَعَ مَدَارِجُ أَوْ مَعَ نَعْمًا.  
 أَوْ يَوْمٍ فِي مَدَارِجُ يَوْمٍ نَعْمًا مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ  
 مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ مَدَارِجُ





























**L 122°**

**S 140<sup>b</sup>**

10

15

20

1 , , L. 4 L repeats , it is crossed  
by three strokes, I do not know whether of the same hand or of another.  
7 ,  L. 9 ,  L. 10 ,  L. |  
,  L. 11 ,  L. 16 the second ,  
 L. | the second ,  L. 17 ,  L. 18 the  
first  omits L. | ,  L. |     L. 19 ,  
 L.





- 20 אִשְׁתָּא מִלְּאָרְיָא. אָל מִן מִלְּתָא אִלּוּ חֵן רִחַן אִי נִעְמָא יִבְיָע מִן  
 מִלְּתָא מִלְּאָרְיָא לָא מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא. נִעְמָא מִן חֵן רִחַן  
 נִעְמָא מִלְּאָרְיָא וְאִן מִן מִלְּתָא מִלְּאָרְיָא מִלְּתָא חֵן רִחַן רִחַן.  
 מִלְּתָא מִן יִבְיָע אִלּוּ מִלְּתָא יִבְיָע חֵן מִלְּתָא חֵן רִחַן רִחַן.  
 חֵן מִלְּתָא חֵן רִחַן לָא מִלְּתָא. מִלְּתָא לָא מִלְּתָא לָא  
 מִלְּתָא. אִיבְיָע מִלְּתָא נִעְמָא | מִן מִלְּתָא מִלְּאָרְיָא אִמְרָא נִעְמָא לָא L 124<sup>a</sup>  
 25 מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא חֵן מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא. מִלְּתָא חֵן רִחַן מִלְּתָא אִי  
 מִן מִלְּתָא לָא מִלְּתָא חֵן רִחַן מִלְּתָא לָא מִלְּתָא. מִלְּתָא מִן  
 חֵן רִחַן מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא לָא מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא. מִלְּתָא מִן  
 מִן מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא מִן מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא. חֵן רִחַן מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא  
 קִרְיָא מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא. מִלְּתָא מִן מִלְּתָא מִן מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא.  
 30 אִיבְיָע מִן נִעְמָא לָא מִן מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא לָא מִן מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא.  
 מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא מִן מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא מִן מִלְּתָא מִן  
 מִן מִלְּתָא מִן מִן | מִן מִלְּתָא לָא מִן מִן מִן. מִלְּתָא S 142<sup>b</sup>  
 מִן מִן לָא מִלְּתָא נִעְמָא.

וְאִן מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא אִלְּתָא נִעְמָא.

- מִלְּתָא מִלְּתָא אִלְּתָא נִעְמָא מִן מִלְּתָא אִלְּתָא מִן. חֵן רִחַן  
 מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן. לָא מִן מִן מִן אִמְרָא  
 5 מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן | מִלְּתָא מִן חֵן רִחַן L 124<sup>b</sup>  
 מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן. אִיבְיָע מִן מִן. מִלְּתָא מִן מִן  
 חֵן רִחַן מִלְּתָא מִן מִן. מִלְּתָא מִן מִן. מִלְּתָא מִן  
 מִן מִן מִן מִן. מִלְּתָא מִן מִן. מִלְּתָא מִן מִן. מִן  
 10 מִן מִן מִן מִן. לָא מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן. חֵן רִחַן  
 מִן מִן מִן מִן. מִלְּתָא מִן מִן. מִן מִן מִן מִן  
 מִן מִן מִן. מִלְּתָא מִן מִן. מִן מִן מִן מִן  
 15 מִן מִן מִן. מִלְּתָא מִן מִן. מִן מִן מִן מִן. מִן  
 מִן מִן מִן. מִן מִן מִן מִן. מִן מִן מִן מִן. מִן  
 לָא מִן מִן מִן. מִן מִן מִן מִן. מִן מִן מִן מִן. M 124<sup>c</sup>

22 אָל, אָל L.

24 מִלְּתָא, מִלְּתָא L.

27 both אָל, אָל L.

32 מִן, מִן, מִן, מִן L.

V 7 אָל, אָל L.

8 אָל, אָל L.

10 אָל, אָל L.

20  
 25

143<sup>a</sup>

علم ماضى؟ انفسه لست؟ حلا نعم.

19 ١٩, ٢٠ L | ٢١, ٢٢ L 22 اجدل, بجدل L 23 ٢٤, ٢٥ L | ٢٦, ٢٧ L  
 28 ٢٩ L 25 نعم, لا نعم, لا نعم L 26 لا, لا L

The edition of the Syriac version of the *λόγος περὶ ψυχῆς* by Gregory Thaumaturgus has a very curious history. Till this edition of it nobody has seen that the tract "on the soul", of the Add. 14,658, ascribed to Aristotle, is nothing else than the above named *λόγος*. Renan was the first who pointed to it in the article of the *Journal Asiatique* of the year 1852. But he said only that it is not the version of the *περὶ ψυχῆς* of Aristotle. De Lagarde printed then in the year 1858 in his *Analecta Syriaca* a very short quotation *علم ماضى؟ حلا* (sic!) *نعم* by Gregory from two manuscripts of the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> but he did not see that the same passage occurred also in our manuscript, although he edited from the same manuscript the version of the *περὶ κόσμου*. Wright repeated in his *Catalogue* in the year 1870 what Renan had stated some twenty years before. In 1894 finally Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis published the Syriac text she found in the MS. 16 of the Convent of S. Chatharine on Mount Sinai, where our tract is ascribed to "the

<sup>1</sup> P. Lagarllii *Analecta Syriaca*, Lipsiae-Londinii 1858, p. 81.

philosophers" ~~le~~. She also did not know who is its author. Victor Ryssel translated the Syriac version already published in German in the „*Rheinisches Museum*”<sup>1</sup> of 1896 and expressed the opinion that it was probably the work of a „*spätere, griechische Schriftsteller*”. In the same year he was able to point to the real author of the tract and gave also, in the same review, some suggestions for corrections both of the Greek and Syriac texts.<sup>2</sup>

What Victor Ryssel has begun we try to accomplish. We regret to be hampered in our task by the lack of a critical edition, on which one could rely, of the Greek text, namely as the text of the edition of Migne (*Patrologia Graeca*, tom. 10, 1137—1146) gives absolutely no variants. But we hope to be even able to correct the Greek text by confronting it with the Syriac translation.

Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis found it in the MS. 16 of the Convent on Mount Sinai. The manuscript dates from the seventh century, is written in Estrangelo and is on vellum. It contains (1) the lives of the Egyptian Fathers, fol. 1—86. (2) The Life of the Holy Nilus the Anchorite, fol. 87—93. (3) The Apology of Aristides on behalf of the Christians, fol. 93—105. (4) A discourse of Plutarch on the advantage to be derived from one's enemies, fol. 105—112. (5) A discourse of the same Plutarch about asceticism, fol. 112—121. (6) A discourse of Pythagoras, fol. 121—126. (7) A discourse of Plutarch about anger, fol. 126—132. (8) A discourse of Lucian that we should not readily believe slander against our friends, fol. 132—140. (9) Discourse of a Philosopher about the Soul, fol. 140—143. [9\*] The discourse of Theano is followed by [10] Sayings of the Philosophers, and these are apparently the same collection as is found in Sachau, *Inedita*, pp. 66; after which follows (11) [another collection of sayings of wise men]. (12) A commentary on Ecclesiastes by Mar John the Anchorite, fol. 151—214. (13) Commentaries of Chrysostom on Matthew, fol. 214 ad finem.

Her edition is apparently an exact copy of the manuscript. We can therefore rely upon it quite confidently.

<sup>1</sup> Neue Folge, Jahrgang 51; Zwei neu aufgefundenen Schriften der graeco-syrischen Literatur, p. 2—3 and 4—9.

<sup>2</sup> l. c. p. 318—320.

The first difference we remark between the texts is the difference of the title. The MS. of the British Museum ascribes the text to Aristotle, while the Sinaitic speaks vaguely of "philosophers". Mr. Ryssel thought that this inscription comprehends also the immediately following sentences of the philosophers<sup>1</sup> and that one must read therefore: **ܐܪܝܨܬܐ ܕܐܪܝܨܬܐ**...  
**ܐܪܝܨܬܐ ܕܐܪܝܨܬܐ**. But it seems to me that the fact that the other MS. ascribes it to Aristotle points in another direction. To all those who have seen and worked with Syriac MSS. it is a very well known fact that the Syriac copyists were very careless in writing the diacritical points, especially the Seyāmē. It is therefore most probable that one has to read **ܐܪܝܨܬܐ**, and "the philosopher" in the Orient is nobody else than Aristotle.<sup>2</sup> Therefore I think that the translator of the λόγος did not find it in his Greek manuscript ascribed either to Gregory or to Aristotle, but to "a philosopher" or to nobody; that is to say, it was ἀδόσποτος. At all events it seems to me to be an incontrovertible fact, that the change from **ܐܪܝܨܬܐ** to **ܐܪܝܨܬܐ** has taken place on Syriac soil. Some copyist who knew perhaps a bit about Aristotelian psychology—of course, not more than a bit—substituted the name of the Greek philosopher for "a philosopher". There is also an Arabic paraphrasis of the λόγος in the MS. Add. 7453: هذا مختصر من قول الحكيم ارسطوطاليس الفيلسوف في النفس وهو سبعة اقوال. The same paraphrasis we find also in the Add. 23, 403. We shall publish this paraphrase in the *Rendiconti* of the *Reale Accademia dei Lincei*.

The quotation from the λόγος published by de Lagarde runs rightly: **ܐܪܝܨܬܐ ܕܐܪܝܨܬܐ ܕܐܪܝܨܬܐ**...  
**ܐܪܝܨܬܐ ܕܐܪܝܨܬܐ**. This fact could perhaps induce somebody to say that therefore there were Syriac manuscripts with the right title. But it must be remarked that this quotation is not from our Syriac version, but is a translation,<sup>3</sup> quite independent from our version, of a part of a Greek *catena patrum*. The Syriac

<sup>1</sup> l. c. p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Baumstark l. c. p. 22, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. Add. 12,155 has **ܐܪܝܨܬܐ**.

<sup>4</sup> Ryssel is wrong in saying: ... Bruchstück einer alten syrischen Übersetzung, welches de Lagarde aus zwei Handschriften des achten Jahrhunderts veröffentlicht ... in *Gregorius Thaumaturgus, sein Leben und seine Schriften*, Leipzig 1880, p. 35.





L	S
6 ?	15 ?
7	b 4
9	6
10-11	11
12	14
12	15
13	20 a 3
15	9
14-15	11-12
16	12
17	12
18	17
19	20
20	23
20	25
II 1	25
2	b 1
2	2
2	3
3	6
5	10
5	12
9	23
9	25
14	21 a 13
15	18
17	22-24
19	b 3
19	5
19	5-6
III 1	7
2	9
2	10
2	11

L	S
3 <b>ل</b>	12 <b>ل</b>
4 <b>ل</b>	17 <b>ل</b>
4 omits	18 after <b>و</b> inserts <b>و</b>
7 <b>ل</b>	25 <b>ل</b>
8 <b>ل</b>	22 a 2 <b>ل</b>
8-9 both <b>ل</b>	4 <b>ل</b>
13 <b>ل</b>	19-20 <b>ل</b>
13 <b>ل</b>	20 <b>و</b>
14 <b>و</b>	24 <b>ل</b>
15 <b>ل</b>	b 1-2 <b>ل</b>
16 <b>و</b>	5 <b>و</b>
17 <b>ل</b>	6 <b>ل</b>
18 <b>ل</b>	8 <b>ل</b>
18 <b>و</b>	9 omits
19 <b>و</b>	11 <b>و</b>
19 <b>ل</b>	12 <b>ل</b>
19 <b>ل</b>	12 omits
19 <b>ل</b>	13 omits
20 <b>ل</b>	16 <b>ل</b>
21 <b>ل</b>	18 <b>ل</b>
22 <b>ل</b>	17 <b>ل</b>
23 <b>ل</b>	20 <b>ل</b>
IV 1 <b>ل</b>	25 <b>ل</b>
2 <b>ل</b>	23 a 1 <b>ل</b>
3 <b>و</b>	4 <b>و</b>
3 <b>ل</b>	4 <b>و</b>
4 <b>ل</b>	7 <b>ل</b>
5 <b>ل</b>	12 <b>ل</b>
6 <b>ل</b>	13 <b>ل</b>
8 <b>ل</b>	22 <b>ل</b>
10 <b>ل</b>	b 2 <b>ل</b>
11 <b>ل</b>	4 omits
13 <b>ل</b>	8 <b>ل</b>
14 <b>و</b>	11 omits

L

- 14 **ⲙⲉⲗⲁ**  
 15 omits  
 16 omits  
 16 **ⲙⲉⲗⲁ**  
 16 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 17-18 **ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 18 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 19 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 20 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 20 omits  
 21 **ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ**  
**ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 24 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 25 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 26 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 26 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 26 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 27 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 27 **ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 28 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 28 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 28 omits  
 31 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 31 omits  
 33 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 V 2 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 2 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 2 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 4 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 4 **ⲙⲉⲗ**

S

- 13 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 17 **ⲙⲉⲗ** after **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 18 **ⲙⲉⲗ** before **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 19 **ⲙⲉⲗ**, and repeats it  
 21 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 24 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 26 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 24 a 3 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 6 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 6 **ⲙⲉⲗ** before **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 7-11 **ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ**  
**ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ**  
**ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ**  
**ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 19 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 20 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 23 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 23 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 24 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 b 1 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 1-2 **ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 3 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 4 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 5 **ⲙⲉⲗ** after **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 15 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 16-17 **ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ**  
**ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 after **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 21 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 23 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 25 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 26 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 25 a 4 **ⲙⲉⲗ**  
 5 **ⲙⲉⲗ**

L	S
5 مسمي	7 مسمي
5 مسمي	9 مسمي
6 ؟	10 omits
7 مسمي مسمي مسمي	13 مسمي مسمي مسمي
7 مسمي	14 مسمي
8 مسمي مسمي	17 مسمي مسمي
10 لا مسمي	24 مسمي
11 مسمي مسمي	b 1 مسمي
12 مسمي مسمي	3 omits
13 مسمي مسمي	4 مسمي مسمي
13 مسمي مسمي مسمي	4 مسمي مسمي مسمي
14 مسمي مسمي	7 مسمي مسمي
14 مسمي مسمي	8 مسمي مسمي
14 omits	9 مسمي مسمي after مسمي
14 مسمي مسمي	10 مسمي مسمي
15 omits	10 مسمي after مسمي
15 مسمي مسمي	12 مسمي مسمي
16 مسمي مسمي	14 مسمي مسمي
16 مسمي مسمي	15 مسمي مسمي
17 مسمي مسمي	17 مسمي مسمي
17 مسمي مسمي	18 مسمي مسمي
18 مسمي مسمي	21 مسمي مسمي
19 مسمي مسمي	23 مسمي مسمي
20 مسمي مسمي	26 مسمي مسمي
20-21 مسمي مسمي مسمي مسمي	26 a 2 مسمي مسمي
22 مسمي مسمي	7 مسمي مسمي
22-23 مسمي مسمي	9 مسمي مسمي مسمي
24 مسمي مسمي	b 3 مسمي مسمي
24 مسمي مسمي	5 مسمي مسمي
25 مسمي مسمي	6 مسمي مسمي
27 مسمي مسمي مسمي	10-11 مسمي مسمي مسمي
مسمي مسمي مسمي مسمي	مسمي مسمي مسمي مسمي
مسمي مسمي	مسمي مسمي









אֵלֶּיךָ לְבָרָא לֵב	ἀτελεύτητον
לְבָרָא	ἐμμέμκται
לְבָרָא	ζωτικόν
לְבָרָא? אֵלֶּיךָ	ζωοποιούν
לְבָרָא? אֵלֶּיךָ? אֵלֶּיךָ? אֵלֶּיךָ	τό ζωοποιούμενον
לְבָרָא לְבָרָא	λογική
לְבָרָא	ὄγκον
לְבָרָא? לְבָרָא	τὰ ὄντα
לְבָרָא	γνωρίζεται
לְבָרָא	νόησις
לְבָרָא	εἰδήσις
אֵלֶּיךָ	ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ
לְבָרָא? רָבָא	φύσις
לְבָרָא? אֵלֶּיךָ	τὸ μὴ ὄν
לְבָרָא? אֵלֶּיךָ	τὸ ὄν
לְבָרָא	ἀξίωμα
אֵלֶּיךָ	ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ
לְבָרָא	φυσικῶς
לְבָרָא	λογική
לְבָרָא	ἐγκέκραται
לְבָרָא לְבָרָא	πολυμερής
לְבָרָא	λόγος
לְבָרָא לְבָרָא	τὸ ἀθάνατον
לְבָרָא	ὄρος
לְבָרָא	παρακείσθαι
לְבָרָא לְבָרָא	ἔμψυχον
לְבָרָא	ἀκόλουθον
לְבָרָא לְבָרָא	τὰ ἄψυχα
לְבָרָא	ἀποτέλεσμα
לְבָרָא	ἐναντία
לְבָרָא לְבָרָא	ἐνέργεια
לְבָרָא	αἷτιον
לְבָרָא	ψηφίς
לְבָרָא	διαιρετόν
לְבָרָא	τὸ ἀπλόν

חכמה	τριχὴ διάστατον
מחשבה	σύνθετον
חכמה	τὸ ἀσύνθετον
חכמה	αἴσθησις
חכמה	ἀξίωμα
חכמה	λόγος
חכמה	διαλυτόν
חכמה	ἐναντία





*Entered as second class matter, June 10, 1912,  
at the Post Office of New Haven, Connecticut,  
under act of July 16, 1894.*

Printed by W. Drugulin, Leipzig (Germany).

w9220/138

JOURNAL  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

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VOLUME 35 . PART IV . DECEMBER 191<sup>5</sup><sub>7</sub>

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THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.  
1917.

*Annual subscriptions and orders for current numbers (\$1.50 a copy) should be sent to Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.*

*Entered as second class matter June 1, 1916, at the post office at New Haven, Connecticut, under Act of August 24, 1912. Published quarterly.*





### NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

The articles printed in the following pages, 321-398, constituting Part 4 of Volume 35 of this Journal, were submitted to the Editor for publication in the spring and summer of 1915, and were all put in type by W. Drugulin in Leipsic, Germany, in the summer and fall of that year. Part of the proof was received and returned in October and November; the remainder, sent from Leipsic early in 1916, was detained in transit and did not reach this country until May, 1917, coming into the hands of the Editor June 1st. On consultation with the Treasurer of the Society and the present Editors of the Journal it was decided, in view of the probability that the war would not end soon, and also because of the manifest obligation of the Society to its members and the subscribers to its Journal, as well as to those who had contributed the aforesaid articles, to issue the long-missing number in this country at once.

The Editor, the printers, the Treasurer of the Society, and the agents employed to distribute the Journal, have received many letters of complaint in regard to the broken file of the Journal and the delay in completing it. Information as to the reason for the delay was given in circulars sent out in March and July, 1916, and in the Editor's Report presented at the meeting in Washington and printed in Volume 36, page 435. In replying to queries and complaints the Editor of Volume 35 promised that the gap should be filled, without undue loss of time, as soon as circumstances should permit. This promise he has done his best to fulfil.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., November 9, 1917.





*Studies in the Old Persian Inscriptions.\**—By ROLAND G. KENT,  
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§ 1. The extreme care with which monumental inscriptions are cut should be a constant warning to their interpreters not to take liberties with the established text, once that text has been carefully read and verified; and now that Rawlinson's work on the great inscription of Darius on the Rock at Behistan has been verified, or corrected, as the case may be, by Jackson and by King and Thompson, scholars should beware of emending for the sake of getting a more easily explainable text. Where any alteration in the recorded reading is attempted, it should be along the accepted lines of textual criticism, which are coming more and more to regard errors as due to mechanical imperfection, rather than as due to the operation of the human mind. Any emendation of the Old Persian inscriptions should therefore be based on such processes as dittography, haplography, accidental omission of one or more of the strokes forming the character, partial obliteration of signs by the action of the elements, and the like. From this conservative standpoint, some passages in the Behistan inscription are here examined.

§ 2. For convenience, an index, according to sections, of the main words and topics discussed, is here presented:

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\* This article was in type in the fall of 1915. See page 319.

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### I. Avahyarādiy.

§ 3. *Avahyarādiy* 'on this account' occurs Bh. 1, 51—52; 4, 47; a 9—10; and in mutilated form 1, 6—7; 4, 54. 62. Inasmuch as *avahyā*<sup>1</sup> (wherein the length of the final vowel<sup>2</sup> is graphic merely, not phonetic) is the regular gen. masc. and neut. of the pronominal stem *ava-*, there would seem to be no reason for departing from the old view that the word is a compound

<sup>1</sup> Occurring Bh. 1, 29; 3, 70; 4, 48—49.

<sup>2</sup> Foy's disquisition, KZ. 35, 2—12, on the rationale of the OPer. script does not convince me; I feel strongly that this script has been conventionalized in certain points, such as *-ā* for final short *-a*, *iy* and *uv* for final and postconsonantal *i* and *u*, and the combinations *hi* and *hu* (see § 24); observe the stem *tya-* for \**tiya-* by the influence of the writing *hya-* (not \**hiya-*).

equal to the Greek phrase *τούτου ἕνεκα*, both in form<sup>1</sup> and in meaning, and to the Latin *huius rei causā*.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore a little surprising to find that Bartholomae<sup>3</sup> interprets the word as \**avahyā rādiy*, where the prior member is a loc. fem. sing. in agreement with the noun which is the second element. It is, he says, an early compound which kept the old form of the pronoun, for which as an independent word \**avahyāyā* came into use later. Both the earlier \**avahyā* and the later \**avahyāyā* are based upon the extension of the *-hy-* element,<sup>4</sup> seen in the Skt. pronominal forms *tasyāi tasyās tasyām* &c.

§ 4. This *-hy-* element, on the testimony of the pronouns in Skt. and in Av., is found in the gen., dat., abl. and loc. cases of the fem. sing.<sup>5</sup> Of such forms we actually have, in OPers., only the genitives *ahyāyā* (written also *ahiyāyā*) and *hamahyāyā*, and the locative *ahyāyā*. In the gen., corresponding to the Skt. *asyās*, we have an OPers. \**ahyā*<sup>6</sup>, which would be written *ah<sup>h</sup>y<sup>a</sup>a*, identical with the masc. neut. *ahyā* = Skt. *asya*; for in OPers. absolutely final short *a* is written with the separate letter, not expressed merely by the vowel inherent in the preceding consonant. For distinction perhaps, or even merely for assonance to the nominal *-ā-* stems in the same case, fem. *ahyā* was made over to *ahyāyā* (cf. subst. gen. *taumāyā*); the process is the same with *hamahyāyā*. But for the loc. *ahyāyā* the development is more complicated. Skt. has *asyām*, with an *m* suffix not found in other languages; were we to compare the substantival loc. *senāyām*, we should be tempted to divide *senāy-ām*, and similarly *asy-ām*, and to make the added element of uncertain origin the entire *-ām*. In this way, we have perhaps \**asī-i* as the basic form of the case, cf. masc. and neut. *asm-i-n*; \**asīi-ām* would automatically become the actual Skt. *asyām*. The Avestan *a'she* stands for an earlier \**asyā*; this may be interpreted as \**asī* plus the postposition *ā*, so commonly attached to the Iranian locative as a formative element. The Iranian \**ahyā* may then have been made over to *ahyāyā* in imitation of the loc. of fem. *-ā-* stems,

<sup>1</sup> Except that *ἕνεκα* is instr. in form, while *-rādiy* is loc.

<sup>2</sup> *Huius rei* is merely the gen. of neut. *hoc*, used because the simple pronoun *huius* would be ambiguous with both of the other genders.

<sup>3</sup> *AIW.* 179, s. v.

<sup>4</sup> Bartholomae, *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.* I, § 239, 2.

<sup>5</sup> And of course in the gen. sing. masc. and neutr., from which it may have started; Brugmann, *Grundriss d. vgl. Gram.* II<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 360, § 357.

such as *Aθurāyā* and *Arbairāyā*. The probability of this loc. \**avahyāyā* must be admitted, especially as the Av. shows the extension of the *-hy-* element in the gen., dat. and abl. of this stem *ava-*, though the locative unfortunately does not occur.

§ 5. We must note that in Bartholomae's assumed form \**avahyā-rādiy* the prior element contains the postposition *ā*, though the posterior element lacks it. With regard to the appearance of this postposition as a formative element of the loc. in OPers., an examination gives the following results:

Postpositive *ā* appears

in fem. proper names which are *-ā-* and *-ī-* stems:

*Aθurāyā*, *Arbairāyā*

*Baxtriyā*, *Harauvatīyā*<sup>1</sup>

in common nouns except those used as adverbs:<sup>2</sup>

*uzmayā-patīy*, *dastayā*, *duvarayā*

*đīpiyā*, *āpiyā*, *būmiyā*<sup>1</sup>

*gābavā*, *dahyauvā*

*viθiyā*, *drayahyā*<sup>3</sup>

in pronouns:

*ahyāyā*

in all plurals:

*Mādaišuvā*, *maškāuvā*, *dahyušuvā*, *aniyāuvā*

Postpositive *ā* does not appear:

in masc. proper names which are *-ō-* and *-ū-* stems:

*Arminiyaīy*, *Asagartaīy*, *Uvajaiy*, *Pārsaīy*, *Mādaīy*,

*Mudrāyaīy*, *Hagmatānaīy*

in locative forms used as adverbs:

*ašnaiy*, *paruvaīy*, *dūraiīy* *dūraiapiīy* (variously spelled)

*nī-padiīy*, *-rādiīy*, *vasiīy*

*nāma nāmā*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If it be taken, with Brugmann, *Grundriss d. vgl. Gram.* II<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 181, as with *-yā* by haplology for *-yāy-ā*. If however, this *-iyā* stand merely for *-(i) iē+i>-(i) iēi*, with later loss of the diphthong-forming element (Brugmann, *Gdr.* I<sup>2</sup>, § 223), the fact that these forms also ended in *-ā*, despite a difference of origin of that *-ā* (ib. II<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 181), might throw them into the same category as those with real postpositive *-ā*, so far as the feeling of the speaker was concerned.

<sup>2</sup> On *ufrāštādiīy*, Bh. 4, 69, cf. § 64—69.

<sup>3</sup> *Māhyā* may belong here, but is better to be taken as gen. of the thematic stem, with Gray, *AJP.* 21, 13—14.

<sup>4</sup> *Nāma* shows by its final short *a* that a weak consonant, an earlier *s* or *t* or *n*, is implied; in this word it can be only *n*. As *nāma* is always

§ 6. Now in Bartholomae's \**avahyā-rādiy*, we note that the prior element has the postpositive *ā*, while the second lacks it. This is not fatal to his explanation, for the *ā*, according to our theory of the history of the pronominal loc. fem., is earlier there than in nouns; but the great difficulty is the length of the final *a* of \**avahyā*, and its consistent shortness in the compound *avahyarādiy*. Foy<sup>1</sup> attempts to explain this on the ground of lawless writing of the final vowel before an enclitic and before the second element of compounds. Let us see how far the phenomena bear out his claim.

§ 7. The possible graphic finals before enclitics are *m š u i ā a*. Words ending in the consonants offer no peculiarities. Final *u* is regularly written *uv*; before enclitics and in compounds<sup>2</sup> we commonly find this form, but also the plain *u*:

*hauv-maiy* Bh. 2, 79; 3, 11; *hauv-taiy* Dar. NRa 57; *hauv-ci-y* Dar. Pers. e 23—24; *hauv-am* Bh. 1, 29; but also *hau-šaiy* Dar. Pers. d 3

*paruvzanānām* Xerx. Pers. b 15—16, da 11 = db 15—16, *paruv zanānām* Xerx. Pers. a 8, ca 7 = cb 11—12; Xerx. Van 12; *paruzanānām* Dar. Elv. 15—16; Xerx. Elv. 15—16; cf. also *paruvnām* and *parūnām*, gen. plur. of *paruv*.

§ 8. Final *i* is written *iy*, except after *h*, where we have *y* alone; before enclitics the *y* ordinarily disappears, so that final *hy* becomes *-ha-*:

*naiy-diš* Bh. 4, 73. 78; *nai-maiy* Bh. 4, 64; *nai-šim* Bh. 4, 49 *tyai-šaiy* Bh. 1, 57; 2, 77; 3, 48. 51. 74. 90. 91 *imai-vā* Bh. 4, 71. 73. 77

used to denote specification, it must be *nāman*, a suffixless loc. in adverbial use. This form is used when the generic noun is masc. or neut. (as in Bh. 3, 12, *martiya Frāda nāma*, 3, 22 *Tāravā nāma vardanam*), but is written with the final vowel long when the generic word is fem. (as in Bh. 2, 27—28 *Karpada nāmā dahyāuš*, 2, 39 *Tigra nāmā didā*); Tolman's formulation, *Lex.* 105, seems to be the best, that the *nāmā* has taken the final long vowel because of the association with a feminine noun, and thus secures apparent agreement with it. This variation in the final vowel shows that the word was no longer felt to be distinctly a living case-form in the paradigm, but rather a word of an adverbial use. But cf. Gray, *IF.* 11, 307—313.

<sup>1</sup> KZ. 35, 8—10.

<sup>2</sup> In the following lists compounds are included only so far as they present features of interest. In nominal compounds, the prior element is usually a stem in stem form, or a prefix which is indeclinable. In verbs, the prefix is always in the correct phonetic form.

*dūrai-apiy* Dar. NRa 12; *dūray-apiy* Dar. NRa 46; cf. *dūraiṽ apiy* Xerx. Pers. a 9, b 18—19, da 13 = db 18—19; Sz. c 6; Dar. Elv. 18—19, Xerx. Elv. 18; Xerx. Van 14

*raucapati-vā* Bh. 1, 20

*yadi-patīy* Dar. NRa 38

*ni-padiy* Bh. 2, 73; 3, 73

*abiy-para* (†; written *ab<sup>a</sup>y<sup>a</sup>p<sup>a</sup>r<sup>a</sup>*) Art. Sus. a 4

*paribarāha-diš* Bh. 4, 74

*vikanāha-diš* Bh. 4, 77

§ 9. Before taking up those combinations in which the sound before the enclitic (or second element of a compound) is short or long *ā*, certain tentative conclusions may be drawn, as follows: Before an enclitic, vowels may keep their writing just as when in the final position, or may be written as when medial in a word; *-hy*, being written *-h<sup>a</sup>y<sup>a</sup>* and not *-h<sup>a</sup>i<sup>y</sup><sup>a</sup>*, becomes the illogical *-ha-* on losing the *y*. In accordance with this we should expect to find that a final *-ā*, whether absolutely final or supported by a weak consonant, retains its length before an enclitic; that a final *-ā*, written without length because supported by a weak consonant, appears as a short before an enclitic; that a final *-ā*, written with length because absolutely final, before an enclitic appears sometimes as long and sometimes with its etymological shortness. The instances follow:

§ 10. Final *-ā*, supported by a weak consonant:

*ā<sup>1</sup>*: *Auramazdā-maiy* Bh. 1, 24—25. 25. 55. 87. 94; 2, 24. 34. 40. 45. 54. 60. 68. 86. 96; 3, 6. 16—17. 37. 44—45. 61—62. 66—67. 87; 4, 60; Dar. NRb 49. *Auramazda-maiy* Dar. NRa 50 is a dubious reading; Tolm. *Cun. Sup.* 58 indicates that it was written *Auramazdā-(ma)i<sup>y</sup>*, with length of the *ā* and accidental omission of the next character.

*Auramazdā-tay* Bh. 4, 58

*Auramazdā-taiy* Bh. 4, 78

*ufrastā-di<sup>y</sup>* Bh. 4, 69<sup>1</sup>

*Ariyā-ramna* Bh. 1, 5: a 7 (the first element nom. plur.<sup>2</sup>)

*ā<sup>1</sup>*:<sup>3</sup> *hyā-param* Bh. 3, 43. 64—65; cf. § 36 ftn.

§ 11. Final *-ā*, not supported by any weak consonant:

<sup>1</sup> See § 64—69.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomae, *AtW.* 199 (or accusative plural?).

<sup>3</sup> I use the superposed *t* to indicate both *t* and *d* in this position.

*hacā-ma* (for length, cf. Skt. *sacā*) Bh. 1, 19. 23; 2, 6. 12. 16.

93; 3, 27. 78. 81; 5, 5; Dar. Pers. e 9; Dar. NRa 20

*yathā-šām* (cf. Skt. *yathā*) Bh. 1, 23

*avaθā-šaiy* (with the same ending as the preceding) Bh. 2, 30. 50; 3, 14

*avaθā-šām* Bh. 2, 20. 27. 36—37. 42. 47. 56. 62. 83. 98; 3, 8. 19. 40. 47. 57. 63—64. 69. 85

*avaθā-diš* Bh. 5, 17. 33

*mā-tya* (cf. Skt. *mā*) Bh. 1, 52; 4, 43. 48. 71

*tyā-diš* (neut. plur., cf. Vedic *tā*) Bh. 1, 65

loc. -ā (identical with the Skt. prep. and verbal prefix *ā*):

*duvarayā-maiy* Bh. 2, 75. 89—90; *uzmayā-patīy* Bh. 2, 76. 91; 3, 52. 92

*viθā-patīy* (instr., cf. Skt. *viçā*) Bh. 3, 26

*duvitā-paranam* (cf. Skt. *dvitā*) Bh. 1, 10; a 17

§ 12. Final -a, supported by a weak consonant:

*a<sup>h</sup>*: in the nom. sing. masc. of -ō- stems:

*kāra-šim* Bh. 1, 50; *haruva-šim* Bh. 2, 75. 90; *apanyāka-ma*  
Art. Sus. a 3

*hya-šām<sup>1</sup>* Bh. 2, 13; *h[ya-šaiy]* Bh. 2, 95; *hya-vā* Bh. 4, 68  
in an old combination retaining the *s*:

*kaš-ciy* Bh. 1, 49. 53

in [*ta*] *ra-draya* Dar. NRa 28—29 (cf. Skt. *tiras*)

in the acc. sing. neut. of -es- stems:

*rauca-pativā* Bh. 1. 20

in the stem form of the same, in compounds:

a late compound: *zūra-kara* Bh. 4, 64. 68

an early compound: *Vahyaz-dāta* Bh. 3, 22. 27—28. 35. 38—  
39. 41. 46. 48. 50. 54. 60. 70—71; 4, 26; h 1—2

*a<sup>t</sup>*: all pronominal neut. sing.:

*tya-maiy* Xerx. Pers. a 19—20, b 24. 30, ca 13 = cb 22—23,  
da 19 = db 28; Dar. NRb 48

*tya-taiy* Dar. NRb 53

*tya-šām* Bh. 1, 19; Dar. NRa 20, 36—37

*tya-patīy* Xerx. Pers. a 15

*mātya-mām* Bh. 1, 52

*aīta-maiy* Dar. Pers. d. 22—23; Dar. NRa 54—55

*ava-taiy* Bh. 4, 76. 79

<sup>1</sup> The pronoun *\*sjo* has manifestly taken on the nominal ending *s* in OPers., as is shown by the independent writing *hya*, without length of the final vowel; cf. Skt. *śya-s sa-s*, Av. *hō* (< *\*so-s*).



*ava-diš* Dar. NRa 21

*ava-parā* Bh. 2, 72; 3, 72—73

*pasāva-dim* Dar. NRa 33; *pasāva-šim* Bh. 2, 76. 90; *pasāva-saiy* Bh. 2, 88

old combinations, showing the final *d* of the prior element:  
*avaš-ciṃ* Xerx. Pers. a 20, ca 14 = cb 24

*ciš-ciṃ* Bh. 1, 53

*aniyaš-ciṃ* Bh. 4, 46; Xerx. Pers. a 13

§ 13. Absolutely final *-a*, written *-ā* when no enclitic follows:<sup>1</sup>

*utā-maiy* (cf. Skt. *uta*) Bh. 4, 46; Dar. NRa 52—53, NRb 7

*uta-maiy* Xerx. Pers. a 15. 18—19, b 29, da 18—19 = db 27

*utā-taiy* Bh. 4, 56. 58. 73—74. 75. 77—78. 79

*utā-šaiy* Bh. 2, 74—75. 89

*utā-šim* Bh. 5, 13. 26—27

*utā-šām* Bh. 3, 57; 5, 15

*ada-kaṃ* (cf. Skt. *adha*) Bh. 2, 11. 24; 4, 81. 82; 5, 15

*ada-taiy* Dar. NRa 43, 45

*xšapa-vā* (acc. sing. fem. of consonantal stem<sup>2</sup>) Bh. 1, 20

*mana-cā* (vowel quantity as in Skt. *mama*) Dar. Pers. d 9—10

*avada-šim* (vowel quantity as in *ada*) Bh. 1, 59

*avadā-šim* Bh. 3, 74

*avada-šiš* Bh. 3, 52

*avada-ša* Bh. 1, 37; 3, 42. 80\*

*Ariya ciθ'a* (a compound written as two words) Dar. NRa 14—15

*fra-haravam* (cf. Skt. *pra*) Bh. 1, 17

<sup>1</sup> Nothing inconsistent with what has been found, would be discovered by a listing of the rather uncertain interpretations *kamna-ma* Bh. 2, 19; *duvitiya-ma* Bh. 3, 24; *apara-ma* Bh. 4, 37. 68. 87 (42. 48. 70); nor by the inclusion of the passages where enclisis is expected, but the words are separated before *di[š]* Bh. 4, 34. 35. 36, and *daiy* Bh. 5, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing is gained by Bartholomae's assumption, *AIW*. 548, that we are to understand *xšapa-* in riming assimilation to the following *rauca-*. In Dar. Pers. e 13—14, a riming pair consists of a gen. and a loc.: *tyaiy uškahyā utā tyaiy drayahyā*, "those who (are) of the mainland and those who (are) by the sea". In this also the rime is graphic merely, for the gen. *uškahyā* really has a short final vowel, while the loc. *drayahyā* ends in the etymologically long postposition *ā*. But in both the difference in sound would have been slight, even if there was no actual phonetic assimilation in practice.

\* The main exception to this graphic length seems to be when the

§ 14. The results are precisely what we anticipated: an etymologically long final *a* remains long before an enclitic; an etymologically short final *a* remains short if absolutely final in the separate word, and if graphically long in the separately written word, may keep that graphic length before the enclitic or may have its proper short quantity. It is therefore quite out of the question for *avahya-rādiy* to represent \**avahyā-rādiy*, for an etymologically long final vowel in this position never shortens before an enclitic or in compounds. The first element of the word is therefore gen. sing. neut. of the pronoun, and the comparisons with the Greek *τοῦτον ἕνεκα* and the Latin *huius rei causā* are valid. But Greek presents a still closer parallel, even to the fusion of the two words into one, in *τοῦνεκα οὔνεκα*.

## II. Taumā.

§ 15. The word *taumā* 'family' has always offered a certain amount of difficulty. It is natural to equate it with late Avestan *taoxman-* N. 'Same, Keim, (Plur.) Verwandtschaft', and Skt. *tókman-* M. 'young blade of corn, esp. of barley, malt'. The problem appears when we observe that modern Pers. has *tuhm*, showing the survival of the *x*, and that even in OPers. we have the *x* before *m* in the proper names *Taxmaspāda* and *Cišra'tazma*, both containing the element seen in Avestan *tazma-* 'fortis, tapfer, tüchtig, energisch, heldenhaft', of which the modern representation in Persian is *tahm*.

word with such an ending forms a unit with the following word. The examples are:

Gen. of a month name in *-ahya* before *māhyā* Bh. 1, 37—38. 42. 89. 96; 2, 26. 36. 41. 56. 61—62. 69. 98; 3, 7—8. 18. 39. 46—47. 63. 68.

Gen. of a personal name in *-ahya* before *puša* Bh. 3, 79. 81; 4, 14. 30; d 5—6; i 7—8; Seal a 7—8; but more often *-ahyā* is written, Bh. 1, 3. 74. 77—78. 79; 4, 83. 83—84. 85; a 3; Dar. Pers. a 4—5, &c.

*Uvaxštrahya taumāyā* Bh. 4, 19. 22; e 7—8; g 8—11; but also *Uvaxštrahyā taumāyā* Bh. 2, 15—16. 81.

*Aurahya Masdāha* Xerx. Pers. ca 10 = cb 17; the word is elsewhere a compound declinable only in the second element.

Besides these, there is a set of examples in the third column of the Behistan inscription within a few lines of each other, which seem to rest upon the carelessness or wilfulness of the scribe who cut the words. We have *Vahyāsdātahya* 3, 38—39. 46, *āhanta* 3, 49. 51; but within the same passage there are numerous examples of finals which are graphically long though phonetically short, so that no real inference may be drawn.

Both of these sets of examples I take as an indication that the length of the absolutely final short *a* is purely graphic.

§ 16. The problem is farther complicated by the fact that in certain passages the word *taumā* appears not to mean 'family', but 'power, strength, possibility'; this, if a word of separate etymology, as seems certain, is a derivate of the root *tu-* 'be strong', found in Skt. and in Avestan, and in practically all of the Indo-European languages. The meaning 'power' is claimed for the word in Bh. 4, 74. 78, and 5, 19. 35; in the last two passages the word rests upon restorations, though they seem quite certain.

§ 17. The best argument for the meaning 'power' seems to be given by Hoffmann-Kutschke, in a letter to Tolman (quoted *Lex.* p. 91): "*Es kann doch nicht bedeuten, du bewahre, so lange deine Familie lebt; man kann doch nur schützen, so lange man selbst lebt. Übrigens steht im Elamischen nicht das Ideogramm GUL, Familie*".

§ 18. Perhaps it would be well to see to what persons or groups of persons the word *taumā* is applied, and in what cases: The *taumā* of Darius:

Nom. 1, 8; 4, 64; a 13

Abl. *taumāyā*, 1, 61—2

Gen. *taumāyā*, 1, 9. 28—29. 45. 49; a 15

The *taumā* of Uvaxštra or Cyaxares:

Gen. *taumāyā*, 2, 16. 81; 4, 19—20. 22; e 8; g 10—11

The *taumā* of anyone who does certain things:

Nom. 4, 56, 58—59. 74. 75. 78. 79; 5, 19. 35

Acc. 4, 88 (restored, but apparently [*tau*]mām).

§ 19. The word 'family' is manifestly an *-ā*-stem, though the corresponding words in Skt. and Av. are neut. *-n*-stems;<sup>1</sup> but the word for 'power' occurs only in the nom., and may be a neut. *-n*-stem, with purely graphic length of the nom. *-a*, and it is so interpreted.<sup>2</sup> The loss of the *-x* in the word 'family' has been explained<sup>3</sup> on the supposition that *x* before *m* was lost after diphthongs but not after short vowels, so that we have *taumā* and *tazma-* corresponding to Av. *taoxman-* and *tazma-*; modern Pers. *tuhm* would come from the dialect represented by Avestan, not from a dialect which lost the *x* in this position.

§ 20. Possibly, however, another factor entered into the loss of the *x*; for it is notable that the word 'family' is used very

<sup>1</sup> J. Schmidt, *Pluralbildungen*, 94.

<sup>2</sup> Foy, *KZ.* 35, 47; Bartholomae, *AW.* 623; &c.

<sup>3</sup> Foy, *KZ.* 35, 6.

largely of one or the other of the two royal lines of the country, that of Cyaxares and that of Darius himself. Granted \**tauxmā* 'family' and *taumā* 'power', the frequent use of the former in the sense of 'royal family' might cause it to lose one sound, the *x*, and assimilate itself to the form of the word for 'power.' In this way we have two identical words of different meanings and of different origins, whose approach to one another in meaning has drawn them together in form as well. For a parallel development in meaning, we might cite the English word *dynasty* 'a race or succession of kings, of the same line or family', which has developed from an older meaning, now obsolete, 'sovereignty, lordship, dominion', which accords with the meaning of the Greek original.

### III. Apariyāya, Bh. 1, 23.

§ 21. Bh. 1, § 8, 20—24:

	<i>ōātiy [Dāra]yava-</i>	20
<i>uš xšāyašiya antar imā dahyāva martiya hya āgar[tā] āha avam u-</i>		21
<i>bartamabaram hya araika āha avam ufrastam aparsam vašn[ā] Auramazdā-</i>		22
<i>ha imā dahyāva tyenae<sup>1</sup> manā dātā aparaiyaya yašāšām hacāma ašah-</i>		23
<i>ya [a]vašā akunavayantā</i>		24

"Says Darius the king: Within these countries what man was watchful him well esteemed I esteemed; who was an enemy, him well punished I punished; by the grace of Ahura Mazda these countries respected my laws; as it was commanded by me to them, so they did".—Tolman's translation, *Lex.*, p. 5.

§ 22. The verb in 23, given above in literal transcription of the syllabic characters, and rendered 'respected' by Tolman, is somewhat troublesome. There can be no doubt that it is a third plural of the imperfect tense, with *dahyāva* as subject and *dātā* as object; and there is little variation in the interpretation: cf., in addition to Tolman's version, the following:

Bartholomae, *AtW.* 1765, "diese Länder bezeugten meinen Gesetzen Ehrfurcht".

King-Thompson, "These lands have conformed to my decrees".

Weissbach-Bang II, " . . haben sich diese Länder nach meinem Gesetze gerichtet".

§ 23. Yet the normalized spelling is a matter of dispute. Bartholomae, followed by Tolman, writes *āpariyāya*<sup>1</sup> for \**aha-*

<sup>1</sup> For *tyā*; see § 45.

*pariyāya*\*, with loss of the intervocalic *h*; cognate, Skt. *saparyati* 'serve attentively, honor, worship, adore'. King-Thompson write *apariyāya*, without comment. Weissbach-Bang<sup>1</sup> suggest *upariyāya*, under the influence of Bh. 4, 64—65 *upariy-[āyam]*, and this emendation is retained by Weissbach, in his *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*; but Tolman's conjecture<sup>2</sup> *upariy-[axšayaīy]* seems better in 4, 64—65. At any rate, since the examination of the inscription by Jackson and by King-Thompson, we should be very slow in altering the reading of actually preserved signs. In the present instance, no doubts are recorded as to the identity of the actual signs on the rock; and Weissbach-Bang's *upariyāya* may therefore be left out of consideration. As for *āpariyāya*, from \**ahapariyāya*, two objections may be made.

§ 24. First: Is the loss of intervocalic *h* in such combinations a well attested phenomenon? It is true that for some mysterious reason the character for *h*<sup>a</sup> (there was no special sign either for *h*<sup>i</sup> or for *h*<sup>a</sup>) was never written before *u*, but merely omitted; and that even when the *u* was purely graphic in the group *uv* representing postconsonantal *u*, the *-hv-* is written *-uv-*. Before *i*, also, there was a reluctance to employ *h*<sup>a</sup>; final *-hi* is always written *-h<sup>a</sup>y<sup>a</sup>*, = *hy: āhy, vikanāhy, xšnāsāhy, θahyāmahy, patiparsāhy, paribarāhy, vaināhy*. In accordance with the regular writing of final *i* as *i<sup>y</sup>*, we should have expected *-hi<sup>y</sup>* in these words. Similarly, though postconsonantal *y* is written *i<sup>y</sup>*, we find the unaltered *-hy-*, not *-hi<sup>y</sup>-*: *hya, dahyāva, avahyā, &c.* By way of exception, *ah<sup>a</sup>i<sup>y</sup>a<sup>y</sup>a* = *ahiyāya* is written Xerx. b 17, da 12 = db 17, Xerx. Elv. 17; but there are about a score of occurrences of *ah<sup>a</sup>y<sup>a</sup>a<sup>y</sup>a* = *ahyāyā*. The only other real example of *hi* is in the initial position: *h<sup>a</sup>i<sup>d</sup>uš* = *hi<sup>a</sup>duš*. Medially, the sign *h<sup>a</sup>* seems to do duty for *hi*: *anahata* = Av. *anāhita-*, Greek (transliteration) 'Αναίτης; *parikarāhadiš*, *vikanāhadiš, paribarāhadiš*, containing the ending *-hy* (graphic for *-hi*) plus the enclitic pronoun *diš*. *Aištatā* is unique, representing *ah<sup>i</sup>štātā*; here, apparently, the vowel quality was more important for the understanding of the word than was the consonant, and the latter was accordingly omitted as before *u*.

<sup>1</sup> II, p. XI.

<sup>2</sup> *Lex.* p. 28, p. 85, with discussion.

§ 25. With the combination *-aha-* the procedure is somewhat different. This occurs unaltered in the following positions:<sup>1</sup>

When the *h* is initial in the second element of a compound:

*fraharava-*, *avahar-* (2, 94)

When the *h* is the final element of a nominal stem:

*-mazdāhā*, *-mazdāha*, *nāham*

When the *h* is part of the double plural ending:

*aniyāha*, *bagāha*

When the *h* is final in a root before a formative suffix:

*āvahanam*, *vahauka*, *θūravāharā-*

When the *h* is final in a verbal root before the ending:

*āham*, *āha*, *āha<sup>n</sup>*, *āha<sup>n</sup>tā*, *aṭaham*, *aṭaha*

When the *h* is initial in the personal ending of verbs:

*maniyāhaiy*

When the *h* is initial in the verbal root after the augment:

*frāha<sup>n</sup>jam*, = *\*fra-aha<sup>n</sup>jam*

§ 26. Over against these examples we must set certain ones in which, apparently, the *h* has fallen out and contraction has resulted:

*āhy* 'sit' = *\*ahahy*

*θāhy* 'dicis' = *\*θahahy*

*θātiy* 'dicit' = *\*θahatiy*

*māhyā* gen. 'mensis' = *\*māhahyā<sup>2</sup>* (stem as in Av. *mā<sup>n</sup>ha<sup>2</sup>*; Skt. *māsa-*)

*Vivāna* proper name = *\*Vivahana<sup>3</sup>*

*āpariyāya<sup>n</sup>* = *\*ahapariyāya<sup>n</sup>*

§ 27. But of these six examples, it is notable that three, *āhy*, *θāhy* and *māhyā<sup>4</sup>*, contain the succession *-ahah-*, so that either dissimilative loss of the sound *h* or of the group *ah* might take place. In connection with *āhy*, it is striking that the third person, *ahatiy*, suffered no loss of the *h*; this suggests that the proportion (ind.) *\*barahy*: (subj.) *barāhy* = (ind.) *\*ahy*: (subj.) *āhy* had an influence, while in the third person the ind.

<sup>1</sup> Two words of doubtful interpretation should be listed: *aṣahaya* (probably = *aṣahya*); *aṣahavaja* (read by King-Thompson, Bh. 4, 90).

<sup>2</sup> With Gray, *AJP.* 21, 13—14; the other interpretation, as a loc. sing. to *māh-*, with postpositive *ā*, removes it from this category.

<sup>3</sup> So Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, 374, comparing Av. *vivānha-*, patronymic adj. to *Vivahvant-*, = Skt. *Vivasvant-*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. second footnote preceding.

*astiy* does not lend itself to the development of an \**ātiy* for *ahatiy*. \**ātiy* is a better example, but may merely have followed its own second singular. As for *Vivāna*, other etymologies from a root *vā-* or *van-*, with the prefix *vi-*, must be admitted as possible. Yet even if these examples be recognized as valid occurrences of loss of *h* in the group *aha*, we are confronted with the fact that in *āpariyāya* there is the influence of the present \**hapariya-* to resist the tendency to the loss of *h*; in *frāha* *jam*, the nearest parallel, the *h* has not disappeared. Even apart from that, there are many more instances of the retention of *h* than of the loss. Thus an explanation of *āpariyāya* as from \**ahap-* is unlikely.

§ 28. Besides this, no one, so far as I am aware, has attempted to explain the doubled *-ya-* of this verb. To a Skt. *asaparyan* we should expect, if for purposes of argument the loss of the *h* be admitted, a corresponding OPers. \**āpariya*, not an *āpariyāya*. It is difficult to see how this extra syllable could be explained.

§ 29. Because of these two difficulties I suggest that we read, with King-Thompson, *apariyāya*; and that we interpret as a doubly augmented imperfect of the root *i-* 'go', with the prefix *pariy*. No alteration in the meaning is suggested. The phonetic and formal equivalent in Greek would be \**ἐ-περιῆεν*, in Skt. \**a-pary-āyan*.

§ 30. Compound verbs which become separated from their simple forms, either in form or in meaning, are liable to take the augment, not where it belongs, just before the uncompounded verb, but before the prefix, or in both places. The following examples are quotable from Greek:<sup>1</sup>

Present	Regular Augment	Initial Augment	Double Augment
ἀμπίσχομαι		ἡμπίσχόμεν	ἡμπεσχόμεν ἡμπειχόμεν
ἀμφιγνώεω		ἡμφιγνόεον	ἡμφεγνόεον ἡμφεγνόησα
ἀμφιέννυμι		ἡμφίεσα	
ἀμφισ-βητέω felt as ἀμφι- σβητέω		ἡμφισβήτουν	ἡμφεσβήτουν
ἀνέχω		ἡνσχόμεν	ἡνεσχόμεν ἡνειχόμεν ἡφέτην
ἀφίημι	ἀφέτην		

<sup>1</sup> Goodwin, *Greek Grammar*, § 544.

ἐνοχλείω		ἡνώχλουν
		ἡνώχλησα
καθίζομαι		ἐκαθεζόμεην
καθεύδω	καθηῦδον	ἐκάθευδον
καθίζω		ἐκάθιζον
	καθισα	ἐκάθισα
	Hom. καθείσα	

In Skt., Whitney<sup>1</sup> quotes *apalāyisṭhās*, *apalāyata*, *apalāyanta* from *palāy*, a disguised compound of *parā*+*i*-, with initial augment instead of augment after the prefix; Brugmann<sup>2</sup> cites *apīdayat* and *asambhramat*, with initial augment, and *apraīsit*, with double augment, from \**a-pra-āisīt*. Irregular or double augment, then, is a phenomenon appearing to a certain extent in the commoner verbs when the feeling for the composition has become more or less obscured.

§ 31. For a semantic parallel to our assumed OPers. *pariy-ay*- 'go round', hence 'respect, observe', we may draw not only upon the compounds of *i*- 'go', but upon other roots of the meanings 'go', 'be,' 'sit', 'lie', all of which are frequently colorless and tend toward a mere copula, so that in composition the main portion of the meaning is given by the prefixed element. We find:

- pari*+*i* (Skt.), 'circumambulate' (MW.<sup>3</sup>), 'umgeben, bittend umwandern, in seine Gewalt kommen' (Gr.<sup>4</sup>)
- pari*+*ā*+*i* (Skt.), 'roam about, go round, circumambulate' (MW.)
- pa'ri*+*ah*- (Av.), 'um Jemand (abl.) sein, ihn begleiten' (Bthl.<sup>5</sup>)
- pari*+*ās*- (Skt.) 'sit or assemble around anyone (acc.)' (MW.); 'um Jemand (acc.) herumsitzen, ihn umlagern, besonders verehrend' (Gr.)
- pari*-*śad*- (Skt.), 'sit around, besiege, beset' (MW.)
- pari*-*śād*- (Skt.), subst. fem., 'assembly, meeting, group, circle' (MW.)

<sup>1</sup> *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1087 c.

<sup>2</sup> *Comparative Grammar*, trans. into Eng., IV, 25, § 477.

<sup>3</sup> Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*.

<sup>4</sup> Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*.

<sup>5</sup> Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*.



Cf. also Greek *περίκειμαι* in *Iliad* XIX, 4,

*εἶπε δὲ Πατρόκλην περικείμενον ὄν φίλον υἱόν.*

§ 32. I therefore hold that *ap<sup>r</sup>ariy<sup>a</sup>ay<sup>a</sup>* is not to be read *āpariyāya*<sup>a</sup>, cognate to Skt. *saparyāti*, because the loss of the intervocalic *h* would have been prevented by the analogy of the unaugmented present form, if it would have occurred at all, and because this does not explain the repetition of the *-ya-* syllable at the end; and that it is to be read *apariyāya*<sup>a</sup>, a doubly augmented compound of *i-* 'go' with the prefix *pariy*.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV. *Hacā darš<sup>a</sup>m<sup>a</sup>*, Bh. 1, 50.

§ 33. Bh. 1, § 13, 48—53:

<i>Θάτιϋ Δάραϋαυῶς ἡσῶϋαϋιϋα ναιϋ ἄϋα μαρτιϋα</i>	48
<i>naiy Pārsa naiy Māda naiy amāzam taumāyā kašciy hya avam Gau-</i>	49
<i>mātam tyam magum xšafram āitam caziyā kārāšim hacā derašma a-</i>	50
<i>tarsa kāram vasiy avājanīyā hya pāranam Bardīyam adānā avahyar-</i>	51
<i>ādiy kāram avājanīyā mātyamām xšnāsātiy tyā adam naiy Bard-</i>	52
<i>iya amiy hya Kūrauṣ puṣra</i>	53

"Says Darius the king: There was not a man, neither a Persian nor a Median nor any one of our family, who might make that Gaumāta the Magian deprived of the kingdom; the people feared him for ???, (saying) he would slay the many people who formerly knew Bardiya; for this reason he would slay the people, 'lest they know me, that I am not Bardiya the son of Cyrus.'"

§ 34. The crux is in the sentence *kārašim hacā d<sup>r</sup>a<sup>r</sup>š<sup>a</sup>m<sup>a</sup> atarsa* "the people feared him for ???." The word *d<sup>r</sup>a<sup>r</sup>š<sup>a</sup>m<sup>a</sup>* may be normalized in writing, in various ways. Bartholomae<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or possibly *pari + ā + i-*, either with double augment or with initial augment only.

<sup>2</sup> *AtW.* 700; *Hdb. d. altiran. Dial.* 86; *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.* § 216, 2, § 403. But a better case could be made out for *daršma<sup>a</sup> < \*-ans* (for this gen.-abl. ending, cf. Reichelt, *Awest. Elementarbuch*, p. 167 *infra*). The only place where we find this *-ans* in OPers. is the acc. plur. of *-o-* stems; but these appear with *-ā*: *patikarā*, *martiyā*, *Bābiruviyā*, and not with *-a*. This is not a phonetic development of *-ans* (despite Foy, *KZ.* 35, 66, and Lorenz, *BB.* 21, 184, cf. Reichelt, *Av. Elementarbuch*, p. 176 *ftn.*), but the nom. form in *-ās* used as acc.; such an extension of the nom. form to the acc. use in the plural appears also in the only *-u-* stem found in the acc. pl. in the OPers. inscriptions, *dahyāva*, and in all the

reads *daršma*<sup>n</sup>, and explains as a suffixless gen.-abl. sing. form of the neuter *-n-* stem; he translates "Die Leute fürchteten von seiner Gewalttätigkeit". Tolman adopts his reading, and translates "The people feared him for his tyranny". King-Thompson, rather non-committally, transliterate *daršama*, and translate "The people feared him exceedingly". Weissbach reads *daršam*<sup>a</sup>.

§ 35. In every interpretation of the passage, the disputed word must be made the object of the preposition *hacā*, since *hacā* is not used independently as an adverb, and cannot govern the preceding *-šim*.<sup>1</sup> *Hacā* occurs in a number of passages on the OPers. inscriptions, always with the ablative case or with an adverb of ablatival meaning except in a few instances easily explainable, later discussed. Further, the phrases denote place from which, separation, cause, agent, and time from which. The table shows the distribution:

	Place From	Sepa- ration	Cause	Agent	Time From
<i>ō</i> -stem abl. in <i>-ā</i> <sup>2</sup>	2	8			
<i>ā</i> -stem abl. in <i>-āyā</i>	2	3			
<i>u</i> -stem abl. in <i>-auš</i>	1				
Pronominal abl. <i>ma</i>		7	2	3	
Abl. adverb in <i>-ša</i>	3				
" " " <i>-ta</i>					5
<i>aniyanā</i> (see below)			2		
<i>rauta</i> ( " " )	1				
<i>daršam</i> <sup>a</sup>			1		

masc. pl. pronouns of the third person: *avaiy*, *imaiy*, *imai*-, *daiy*. Since the acc. plur. of fem. *-ā*-stems is like the nom. plur., and the neut. always has the same form in the nom. and acc., it appears that there are no forms of the acc. plur. in OPers. which can be regarded as distinctively acc. in origin, except the enclitic pronouns *šiš* and *dīš*, to which, properly, there is no nom. form; for *daiy* (nom. form in acc. use) is clearly analogical in origin. Where therefore the nom. and acc. plur. did not fall together in OPers. by the working of phonetic processes, the nom. form drove out the acc. and was used in its stead. We may compare the extension of the instr. plur. form to nom. usage (*raucabiš*) and to acc. usage (*višabiš* Bh. 1, 65).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bartholomae, *AW*. 700, s. v. *daršman*-, Note 1; despite Foy, *KZ*. 35, 31—32.

<sup>2</sup> I take *dušiyārā*, acc. *-ram*, as not a consonantal stem (Bartholomae, *AW*. 754), but an *-o*-stem; for the change of the declensional class in compounds, cf. Brugmann, *Gdr*. II<sup>3</sup>, 1, p. 60.

§ 36. Of these, only the last three items are even in appearance other than ablative.<sup>1</sup> *Anīyanā* (Dar. Pers. d 11. 20) has the form of an instrumental, cf. Av. instr. *kana*; but it may be rather an ablative built upon the instrumental case suffix, just as the locative adverb *yanaiy* is built upon the instr. *\*yanā*.<sup>2</sup>

§ 37. Matters are different with *rauta*. The passage reads: Suez c 8—10:

	8
<i>adam ni[yas]tāyam imām [yuvīd-]</i>	
<i>m kantanaiy haō Pirāva nāma rauta tya Mudrāyaīy danu[vatīy ab-]</i>	9
<i>iy draya tya hacā Pārsā aitiy</i>	10

“I commanded to dig this canal from the Nile by name a river which flows in Egypt, to the sea which goes from Persia”.—Tolman’s translation, *Lex.* p. 51.

§ 38. The syntax of the naming phrases is peculiar, for the OPers. avoided using them in any case but the nominative, except in the carelessly and incorrectly written Art. Pers. a 19.

<sup>1</sup> The forms in *-ā* may be instr., those in *-āyā* may be gen. or possibly even instr., that in *-auš* may be gen.; but *ma* and the forms in *-ša -ta* are distinctly abl. So long as other evidence fails, it is better to regard them as all of the same case, rather than as of several different cases.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fr. Müller, *WZKM.* 7, 112; Foy, *KZ.* 35, 10. It is fairly to be questioned whether the weak final consonants *s t d n* were utterly lost, since they prevent graphic length of a preceding short vowel in the OPers. inscriptions. When the masc. and neut. abl. sing. *\*anīasmād* became OPers. *\*anīyamād*, it may easily have become *anīyanād* by the influence of the instr. *\*anīyānā*, with the help of abl. *-ād*, instr. *-ā* in *-o-* stems. In the same way the loc. *\*yamiy* (<*\*īasmi*) may have become either *yanaiy* (as commonly read) by the influence of instr. *\*yanā* and the loc. *-aiy* of *-o-* stems, or even *yaniy* (an equally possible reading of *yanaiya*), after the pronominal form only. Against this is the absence of the postposition *ā* in all these forms at the time when the remaking of *yanaiy* must have occurred, although the conditions for such remaking are not present until the *h* before *m* has disappeared, a distinctly OPers. phenomenon not common to Av.

The scanty appearance of the gender-showing pronouns in the instr., abl. and loc. sing. masc. and neut. allows us to conjecture that the instrumental *-nā* may have had a considerable extension to the two other cases; we have only instr. masc. *anā* (Dar. Pers. e 8). and the ablatival adverbs *avā* (Bh. 4, 51) and *hyā* in *hyā-param* (Bh. 3, 43. 64—65; but *hyā*, Dar. Pers. e 22, is surely nom. sing. fem., see Foy, *KZ.* 37, 561, and not an ablatival adverb, despite Bartholomae, *IF.* 12, 127 and *AtW.* 1844).

With reference to *hyā*, the scope of the *tya-* and the *hya-* stems is the same in OPers. at that of *tya-* and *sya-* in Skt., or of *ta-* and *sa-*, Av. *ha-*, in Skt. and Av. Thus we have in OPers.:

20 = b 25. 26. Elsewhere the phrase stands in the nominative, except for the *nāma*<sup>1</sup>; a pronoun or adverb then follows,<sup>2</sup> setting the phrase into its proper syntax, as follows:

The naming phrase has the copula verb expressed:

Bh. 1, 30, not followed merely by a pronoun.

Bh. 1, 36; 4, 8, followed by the pronoun *hauv*.

The naming phrase has no verb expressed; but is taken up by

*hauvam* Bh. 1, 28.

*hauv* Bh. 1, 74. 77; 2, 8—9. 14. 79; 3, 11. 22. 78; 4, 10. 12—13. 15—16. 18. 20. 23. 26. 29; 5, 4.

*avam* (acc. masc.) Bh. 2, 19. 29. 49. 82; 3, 12. 31. 56. 84; 5, 5. 8. 27.

*avadā* (adv. 'there, thither') Bh. 1, 58. 58—59. 92; 2, 9. 22. 27—28. 33. 39. 44. 53. 59. 65. 95; 3, 5. 22. 23. 34. 44. 51. 61. 66.

*hacā avadaša* (adv. phrase 'thence') Bh. 1, 37; 3, 79.

*avaparā* (compound adv. 'along there') Bh. 2, 72; 3, 72.

The naming phrases are appositives to a preceding nominative with a verb expressed:

Bh. 4, 83 bis. 84 bis. 85. 86.

The naming phrase is nominative by anacoluthon for the accusative:

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	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sing. nom.	<i>hya</i>	<i>hyā</i>	<i>tya</i>
acc.	<i>tyam</i>	<i>tyām</i>	<i>tya</i>
Plur. nom.	<i>tyaiy</i>	<i>tyā</i>	
acc.		<i>tyā</i>	<i>tyā</i>
gen.	<i>tyāišām</i>		

The *hya*-stem is thus restricted to the nom. sing. masc. and fem., as in other languages, except that it appears in the adverbial *hyd-* in *hyā-param*; but similar extension in adverbs appears in other languages also, as in Greek *ō*, 'thus', though the *so*-stem was in Greek under the old restriction in the paradigm, but for an extension to the same forms of the plural in a few dialects.

The two OPers. ablative adverbs show no sign of the instr. suffix, and for this reason: being adverbs, they are outside the paradigmatic stress. Consequently they do not prove that the extension of the instrumental *-n-* may not have taken place in OPers. in certain cases of the pronominal masc. and neut. sing., just as the *-sy-* element was extended in the fem. sing. But for *tyanā*, Bh. 1, 23, cf. § 45.

<sup>1</sup> For the form and syntax of this word, see § 5 fn.

<sup>2</sup> Except in the brief Seal Insc. a.

Bh. 3, 12—14.	<i>pasā-</i>	12
<i>va adam frāšayam Dādaršīš nāma Pārsa manā bandaka Bāztriy-</i>		13
<i>ā xšaōrapāvā abiy avam</i>		14

“Afterwards I sent forth a Persian, Dādaršī by name, my kinsman, satrap in Bactria, against him (= Frāda)”. It need not surprise us then that in Suez c 9 the apparent object of the preposition *hacā* is, by the same anacoluthon as in Bh. 3, 13, really a nominative.<sup>1</sup>

§ 39. Thus the preposition *hacā* governs in OPers. only the ablative case, or possibly the abl. and the instr., if *aniyanā* is really an instr. The same preposition in Skt., *sacā*, means ‘with’ and governs the instr., rarely the abl.; the transfer of meaning from ‘with’ to the Iranian ‘from’ has been explained by Fay<sup>2</sup> as a development from hostile association. In Avestan, *hača* has the same meaning as in OPers., with the addition of ‘concerning, according to’, and governs regularly the ablative, less often the instr. or acc. We should therefore seek in Bh. 1, 50 an ablative immediately following the *hacā*.

§ 40. But before going farther along this line of thought, there is another peculiarity in the sentence *kārašim hacā dārašam atarsa* which has attracted attention. No other instance of this verb in the OPers. inscriptions governs the direct object. The passages are:

Bh. 2, 12, *pasāva hacā [ma atarsa<sup>n</sup> Uva] jiyā*

Bh. 5, 15: *a [dakaiy Uvaj] iyā [atarsa<sup>n</sup>]*

Dar. Pers. d 11—12: *hacā aniyanā naiy tarsatiy*

Dar. Pers. e 9: *tyā hacāma atarsa<sup>n</sup>*

Dar. Pers. e 20—21: *hacā aniyanā mā [ta]rsam.*

§ 41. Excepting the very doubtful second citation, in all of these the object of the fear is expressed by a phrase with *hacā*, while in Bh. 1, 50 we find a direct object, the enclitic pronoun *-šim*, in the accusative, followed by *hacā* and another word of somewhat doubtful interpretation. But the explanation of the direct object in this passage lies in the fact that no other of the passages contains both the personal cause of the emotion

<sup>1</sup> Thumb, *KZ.* 32, 129; Bartholomae, *BB.* 14, 249—250; wrongly Foy, *IF.* 12, 176—177, and *KZ.* 35, 31—32; cf. Tolman, *Lex.* 111. Cf. also the anacoluthon in the nom. *martiya* Bh. 4, 38. 65. 68, *kāra* Bh. 2, 31. 51, despite *kāram* Bh. 2, 84.

<sup>2</sup> *JAOS.* 31, 403—410.

and the quality or characteristic of that person which raises the fear, but only the personal cause. Either one singly is put in the abl. with *hacā*; but if both are expressed, we must have the acc. of the person and the abl. of the thing with *hacā*.<sup>1</sup>

§ 42. Again, we find the same combination of characters *d̥ar-ša-m* in Bh. 4, 37 in quite a different meaning from that which it seems to have in 1, 50. The particular sentence is *hacā draugā daršam patipayauwā* "protect thyself strongly from the *Lie*"; where *daršam* is an adverb to the root in Skt. *dhars-*, Greek *θραός θέρσος*, Eng. *dare*, &c. For the bearing on 1, 50, a summary of the thought of 4, 1—40, is pertinent. Darius summarizes the rebellions with which he has had to deal, and lists the rebel leaders, in this way "These was one, Gaumāta by name, a Magian; he *lied*: thus he said: I am Bardiya the son of Cyrus; he made Persia rebellious". Listing them all after this model, with the districts in which they revolted, he says, "These are the provinces which became rebellious; the *Lie* made them rebellious so that they *deceived* the people. Afterwards Ahuramazda delivered them into my hand; as was my will, so I did unto them". In the next section, he goes on, "O thou who shalt be king hereafter protect thyself strongly from the *Lie*; the man who shall be a *deceiver*, him do thou punish well(-punished) if thus thou shalt think, 'May the country be assured unto me'".

§ 43. The italicized words in these various sections are in the OPers. all derivatives of the one root *draug-*, that which appears in the Av. *Druj*, the *Lie* or evil power opposed to *Aša* or the spirit of right. Rebellion is attributed to the power of the *Lie* or *Drauga*. Now just as in the summary at Bh. 4, 8 Gaumāta is stated to have *lied* ([*ad*] *urujiya*), so in 1, 34 there is the statement that after Cambyses went to Egypt, the *Lie* (*Drauga*) was abroad in the land, in Persia, in Media, and elsewhere. Then, with reference to Gaumāta himself, Darius

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the similar state of affairs in Greek with *ακούω*, which sometimes governs a genitive of the thing, as in Xen. *Anab.* 4, 2, 8 *ακούσαντες τῆς σάλπιγγος*, 5, 7, 21 *ἐξαίφνης ἀκούομεν βορύβου πολλοῦ*, and sometimes the genitive of the person and the accusative of the thing, Xen. *Anab.* 1, 2, 5 *ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρους τὸν Κύρου στόλον*, 2, 5, 16 *ἤδομαι . . ἀκούων σου φρονίμους λόγους*; though *ακούω* may govern singly the acc. of the thing, and various other combinations of construction as well.

writes, 1, 39, that when he rebelled, "to the people thus he lied ([a]*durujiya*), (saying) 'I am Bardiya the son of Cyrus, (and) brother of Cambyses' ". The *Lie* therefore, the *Drauga*, was the force which impelled Gaumāta to rebellion.

§ 44. It seems a little harsh to take the word *d<sup>a</sup>r<sup>a</sup>š<sup>a</sup>m<sup>a</sup>*, occurring just twice, if we exclude the occurrences in Dar NRb because the passages are too illegible to give a connected meaning, as representing two entirely separate words.<sup>1</sup> I therefore propose to read in Bh. 1, 50, *karāšim hacā (draugā) daršam atarsa* "the people feared him excessively on account of the Lie". This is in accord with the whole attitude of Darius toward the *Drauga*, both in this passage and more manifestly in column 4. The idiom is given in Bh. 4, 37. Paleographically, the loss is an easy example of haplography; for in the copy from which the inscription was cut, the successive characters of the three words were *h<sup>a</sup> c<sup>a</sup> a / d<sup>a</sup> r<sup>a</sup> u g<sup>a</sup> a / d<sup>a</sup> r<sup>a</sup> š<sup>a</sup> m<sup>a</sup>*. It would be simplest of errors to pass from the *d<sup>a</sup>r<sup>a</sup>* of *draugā* to that of *daršam*. Possibly we should rather write as our corrected text *h<sup>a</sup>c<sup>a</sup>a / d<sup>a</sup>r<sup>a</sup>(ug<sup>a</sup>a / d<sup>a</sup>r<sup>a</sup>)š<sup>a</sup>m<sup>a</sup>*.

§ 45. In carefully cut inscriptions, as we have said, it is just such mechanical errors as this that will occur, if any at all are present. Two excellent examples of haplography occur in the bronze tablet containing the Treaty between the Naupactians and the Hypocnemidian Locrians:<sup>2</sup> at the end of line 11, ΑΠΟΝΤΙΟΝ stands for ἀπ' Ὀ(πῶ)ντίων, and in line 22, ΝΑΥΠΙΑΚΤΙΣ stands for Ναυπιάκτι(ός τε)ς. In our OPers. inscriptions, three examples of the converse fault, dittography, may be cited: Bh. 1, 23 *t<sup>a</sup>y<sup>a</sup>n<sup>a</sup>a* for *t<sup>a</sup>y<sup>a</sup>a = tyā*, by the influence of the immediately following *m<sup>a</sup>n<sup>a</sup>a = manā*<sup>3</sup>; Bh. 4, 44 [*up<sup>a</sup>av<sup>a</sup>*]*r<sup>a</sup>t<sup>a</sup>i<sup>a</sup>y<sup>a</sup>i<sup>a</sup>* for [*up<sup>a</sup>av<sup>a</sup>*]*r<sup>a</sup>t<sup>a</sup>i<sup>a</sup>y<sup>a</sup>* = [*upāva*]*rtaiy<sup>a</sup>*<sup>4</sup>; Dar. Sus. b 8 [*ah<sup>a</sup>y<sup>a</sup>a*]*y<sup>a</sup>ay<sup>a</sup>* for [*ah<sup>a</sup>y<sup>a</sup>a*]*y<sup>a</sup>a* = [*ahyā*]*yā*.

§ 46. Haplogy, the spoken analogue of haplography, is a frequent phenomenon in Avestan,<sup>5</sup> and is found in at least three

<sup>1</sup> Foy, *KZ.* 35, 31—32, does indeed read *daršam* in Bh. 1, 50, but goes astray in his interpretation of *hacā*.

<sup>2</sup> Buck, *Greek Dialects.* 215f.; *Insc. Graecae* IX, 1, 334.

<sup>3</sup> Benfey, *Pers. Keilinschr.* 9; Tolman, *Lex.* 94.

<sup>4</sup> Tolman, *Lex.* 26.

<sup>5</sup> Reichelt, *Awest. Elementarbuch*, § 164; Brugmann, *Gdr. d. vgl. Gr.* I<sup>2</sup>, § 984.

OPers. words: *hamātā*, = \**hama-mātā* (Bh. 1, 30), cf. *hama-pitā*; *arštām* = \**aršta-tām* (Bh. 4, 64), cf. Av. *aršta* 'upright'; *dīdiy* = \**dīdīdiy* (Dar. NRa 41)<sup>2</sup>; perhaps also in *duvarθim* (Xerx. Pers. a 12), = \**duvar-varθim*.<sup>3</sup>

#### V. Uṣabārim, Bh. 1, 86—87.

§ 47. Bh. 1, 86—87:

*pasāva adam kām maškāuvā avākanam aniyam uša- 86*  
*bārim akunavam aniyahyā asam frānayam 87*

Darius is describing his passage of the Tigris in the campaign against Nadintabaira: "afterwards I transported the army on floats of skins; one part I made camel-borne, for the other I brought horses".

§ 48. The word *uṣabārim* was long a stumbling block, but the establishing of the reading as *uša-* has rid us of a numerous crop of emendations of the text<sup>4</sup>; and the true meaning was recognized long ago by Oppert<sup>5</sup>, who interpreted the word as 'borne by camels', by a comparison with the Elamitic version. The problem remaining is, how may we reconcile OPers. *uša-* 'camel', with Av. *uštra-* 'camel'?

§ 49. Bartholomae<sup>6</sup> thinks that two signs, *tr*<sup>a</sup>, failed to be cut on the stone, possibly because at the turn of the line the engraver missed them, and reads *uš[tra]bārim*. Jackson<sup>7</sup> has suggested a connection with Skt. *ukṣan-*, Av. *uxšan-*, giving a meaning 'borne by oxen', which is inherently improbable. Weissbach<sup>8</sup>, supporting the meaning 'camel-borne', thinks it a by-form for *uštra-*, or an error for it.

§ 50. For comparison, the two forms of the word for 'horse', IE. \**ekyo-*, Skt. *açva-*, Av. *aspa-*, may be drawn upon. In the OPers. inscriptions we find both *aspa-* and *asa-*:

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann, *l. c.*; and perhaps in the loc. sing. of stems in long *i*, cf. § 5 ftn.; but not in *asabāri-*, which is to be read thus and not as *asbāri-* for \**aspabāri-*, cf. § 50.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomae, *AiW.* 725.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 766; not haplography, as Tolman, *Lex.* 102, cites him.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Tolman, *Lex.* 78—79.

<sup>5</sup> *ZDMG.* 10, 804.

<sup>6</sup> *AiW.* 421.

<sup>7</sup> Tolman, *Lex.* 78.

<sup>8</sup> *ZDMG.* 61, 725; cf. also Hüsing, *KZ.* 38, 259.



*aspa-* in *Aspa-canah-*, *uv-aspa- Vištāspa-*,  
*asa* in *asa-*, *asa-bāri-*, perhaps in *Asa-garta- Asagartiya*.<sup>1</sup>

This double development of IE. *ky* in Iranian is now a recognized phenomenon<sup>2</sup>, as for example also in *vispa- visa-* = Skt. *viçva-*, and the OPers. personal name *Ašpabāra* (in an Assyrian transcription)<sup>3</sup> compared with *asabāribiš*, Bh. 2, 2. 71; 3, 41. 72, cf. Dar. NRb 44. 45.

§ 51. The suggestion is therefore made that the doublet *asa-aspa* 'horse' had an influence upon the words \**uša*-<sup>4</sup> 'ox' and *uštra*- 'camel', in such a way that *uša*- came to be felt as a by-form of *uštra*-, standing in the same relation to it as *asa*- does to *aspa*-; the meaning 'ox' was lost, being taken up by other available familiar words, and the meaning 'camel' was acquired, which it has in the passage of the Behistan inscription.

## VI. Šim, Bh. 4, 6.

§ 52. Bh. 4, 2—8:

	<i>θātiy D-</i>	2
<i>ārayavauš xš[āyathi]ya ima tya adam akuna-</i>		3
<i>vam vašnā Aura[mazd]āha hamahyāyā θar-</i>		4
<i>da pasāva yaθā x[šayathiya] abavam XIX hamaran-</i>		5
<i>ā akunavam vašn[ā Aura]mazdāha adamšim a-</i>		6
<i>janam utā IX xš[āyathi]yā agarbāyam I Gaumāta</i>		7
<i>nāma maguš āha [hauv ad]urujiya avaθā θaha . . .</i>		8

Darius is summarizing the suppression of the rebellions: "Says Darius the king: This (is) what I did; by the grace of Ahuramazda, in one-and-the-same year after that I became king, I fought nineteen battles; by the grace of Ahuramazda I smote him and took captive nine kings. One was a Magian, Gaumāta by name; he lied; thus he said . . ."

§ 53. The difficulty lies in the *šim* of line 6. Apparently its only possible antecedent is the *hamaranā*, which is a neuter plural. The text is assured, so that there is no longer room for

<sup>1</sup> For another etymology, see Bartholomae, *AiW*. 207.

<sup>2</sup> Gray, *AJP*. 21, 6 ff.; Bartholomae, *AiW*. 1457, s. v. *visa*-.

<sup>3</sup> Bartholomae, *Zum AiW*. 121, who still reads *asbāri*- despite this.

<sup>4</sup> The Skt. *ukšan*- and the Av. *uzšan*- are *-n*-stems, and it is even possible that this proportional working upon the meaning, *aspa* 'horse': *asa*- 'horse' = *uštra*- 'camel': *ušan*- 'ox', changed the stem-class as well.

emending to a gen. plur. *šām*<sup>1</sup> or to an acc. plur. *šiš*<sup>2</sup>. Tolman<sup>3</sup> keeps *šim* and translates "I waged them and seized nine kings", making the pronoun refer to the battles. Weissbach<sup>4</sup> emends to *šiš* and regards the pronoun as referring to the enemies of Darius, = "meine Widersacher". King-Thompson keep the *šim* and cut the Gordian knot by omitting the troublesome pronoun entirely: "I overthrew nine kings and made (them) captive".

§ 54. Accepting *šim* as the correct reading, we may proceed to seek its antecedent. And here various peculiarities of OPers. use of pronouns must be taken into account. The enclitics especially are instructive:

§ 55. *šim*: acc. sing., masc. ordinarily, but fem. Dar. NRa 36. In Bh. 1, 62, it is probably neuter, with *xšaθram* as antecedent, but possibly fem., referring to *taumāyā*.<sup>5</sup> But in Bh. 1, 96, it refers to *aniya*,<sup>6</sup> a logical

<sup>1</sup> So Weissbach-Bang II. Bartholomae, *AW*. 1726, accepts this and considers it a gen.-dat. replacing the acc., though this construction does not occur elsewhere in OPers. On [š]ām, Bh. 5, 15, see § 56 ftn.

<sup>2</sup> So Weissbach, *Keilinschr. d. Achäm.* He quotes a private communication from King-Thompson, that the sign for *mā* is not perfectly sure. But the signs *mā* and *ša* are so unlike that traces read *mā* could hardly be an indistinct *ša*.

<sup>3</sup> *Lex.* 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Keilinschr. d. Achäm.* 57 ftn.

<sup>5</sup> Foy, *KZ.* 35, 73—74, thinks it a neuter like the Av. *him* and *dim*, by extension from the masc. since in *o*-stem nouns the acc. masc. and the acc. neut. have the same termination; he adduces the same phenomenon in the carelessly written inscriptions of Artaxerxes, where *imam* has replaced *ima* as neuter, Art. Sus. a 3, Ham. 5. 7. For the other view, cf. Bartholomae, *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.* I, p. 239, § 421, n. 5.

*Iyam* is properly fem. sing. nom., not masc.; cf. Skt. *ayam* masc., *iyam* fem., Av. *aēm* (< *ayam*) masc., *īm* (< *iyam*) fem. *Iyam* in OPers. is fem. only Dar. Pers. d 6 and Sz. c 10, and is masc. in Bh. b 1, c 1, d 1, e 1, f 1, g 1, h 1, i 1, j 1, k 1, and in Dar. NR I, II, III, IV, XVII. The old nom. masc. \**ayam* was remade to *iyam* under the influence of the initial of the masc. acc. *imam* and of the fem. nom. *iyam*. Then from the likeness of the two nominatives, *imam* became a fem. acc., as in Art. Pers. a 22 = b 29, *imam ustašanām*; this development was assisted doubtless by the fact that the enclitic acc. *dim* and *šim* were alike in the two genders. Then, Art. Sus. c 4—5 has even [i]mām *hadiš*, though *hadiš* is neuter, taking *ima* in Xerx. Pers. ca 10—11 = cb 18, da 16 = db 24, Sus. 2.

<sup>6</sup> I take *aniya* here not in the sense of 'the enemy', but of 'the rest', referring back to *kāram*; Bh. 1, 94—96:

plural, though a singular in form. If *utāš[im]* be the correct restoration in Bh. 5, 26—27, it likewise refers to *aniyam*, 25, or to a word referring to *aniyam*, now lost in the gap in 26; but *aniyam* itself is a partial appositive to *Sak[ā]*, 25, if that be the correct restoration,<sup>1</sup> and is therefore a logical plural, so that *-š[im]*, 27, has a logically plural antecedent, as at Bh. 1, 96.

- § 56. *šām*: gen.(-dat.) plur., masc. or fem.; antecedents:  
*kāra*, sing. in form, but logically plural, Bh. 2, 20.  
 83; 3, 31. 57. 85; 5, 8 [here restored merely].  
 Darius' army, or the armies of both sides, probably the latter: 2, 27. 37. 42. 47. 56. 62. 98; 3, 8. 19. 40. 47. 64. 69.  
 the commander and his army, 2, 20. 83; 3, 57. 85.  
*Uvajiyā*, masc. plur., 2, 13; 5, 12. 15<sup>2</sup> [these two are restorations merely].  
*dahyāva*, fem. plur., 1, 14. 19. 23; Dar. NRa 18, 20.  
 In Dar. NRa 36—7 *šām* has as antecedent the idea of *dahyāva* implied in *būmim*, 32.<sup>3</sup>

- § 57. *diš*: acc. plur., masc. and fem.; antecedents:

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	[ <i>vašnā Aura</i> ]ma-	94
<i>zdāha kāram tyam Nadintabairahyā adam ajanam vasiy aniya āpi[y]a</i>		
	[ <i>ahyat</i> ]ā ā-	95
<i>pišim parābara</i>		96

"By the grace of Ahuramazda the army of Nadintabaira I smote mightily; the rest was driven into the water; the water bore it away".

It is quite unnecessary to assume the meaning 'enemy' for *aniya*- in OPers., for in the phrase *hacā aniyānā*, Dar. Pers. d 11, e 20—21, the meaning is merely 'the other fellow', that is, any possible rival to the king; cf. *alter* in Horace's (*Sat.* 1, 1, 40) *cum . . . nūl obstat tibi, dum ne sit te ditior alter*.

<sup>1</sup> Or should 25 be restored [*kāram tyam*] *Saka[m av]ājanam*, instead of \* \* \* \* *Sak[ā av]ājanam*, as it appears in Tolman, *Lex.*?

<sup>2</sup> Bh. 5, 15—16:

<i>a[dakaty Uvaj]iyā [atarsan] utā[š]ām Aurama-</i>	15
<i>zdā [manā dastayā] a[kunauš]</i>	16

is too largely restored to form a real point d'appui for an emendation to *-šām* in Bh. 4, 6, as an object (cf. Bartholomae, *AW.* 1726), despite the parallel idiom at Bh. 4, 35 *pasāva di[š Auramaz]dā manā dastayā akunauš* 'afterwards Ahuramazda delivered them into my hand', for in 5, 15, the *-šām* may be a partitive genitive as object, cf. Xen. *Anab.* 1, 5, 7 λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ, 4, 5, 35 τῶν πῶλων λαμβάνει.

<sup>3</sup> *Dahyāva* is indeed found at the end of line 39.

*Uvajiyā*, masc. plur., Bh. 5, 17.

*Sakā* (or some equivalent word), masc. plur., Bh. 5, 33.

*kāra*-, masc. sing., collective, Bh. 1, 65.

*imam dipim* (fem. sing.) *imaivā patikārā* (masc. plur.), Bh. 4, 73. 74. 77. 78.

*dahyāva*, fem. plur., Dar. NRa 21<sup>1</sup>; Bh. 4, 34. 35. 36.

§ 58. The last passage deserves examination: Bh. 4, 33—36:

<i>oātiy Dāraya[vauš xšā]yaēiya dahyāva imā tyā hamōriy-</i>	33
<i>ā abava drauga di[š hamōriy]ā akunauš tyā imaiy kāram adur-</i>	34
<i>ujiyašan pasāva di[š Auramaz]dā manā dastayā akunauš yašā mām k-</i>	35
<i>āma avašā di[š akunavam]</i> <sup>2</sup>	36

“Says Darius the king: These (are) the provinces which became rebellious; the Lie made them hostile, so that those men deceived the people; afterwards Ahuramazda delivered them into my hand; as (was) my pleasure, so I did unto them.”

The first *dīš* refers quite clearly to *dahyāva*, and the second and third refer either to the same or to *imaiy* and *kāram* 34, like the *dīš* of Bh. 1, 65. The antecedent of *imaiy* 34 is the *IX xšāyaēiyā* of 32, listed separately in 7—31.

§ 59. *avaīy*, Bh. 4, 69, is an acc. plur. masc.<sup>3</sup> with alternative sing. masc. antecedents, which are not exclusive the one of the other.

The text is, Bh. 4, 67—69:

<i>oātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaēiya tuvam [kā] xšāyaēiya</i>	67
<i>hya aparam āhy martiya [hya] draujana ahatiy hyavā [xū]rakara **</i>	
<i>ahat-</i>	68
<i>iy avaiy mā dauštā [biy]ā ufraštādiy parā</i>	69

<sup>1</sup> *dīš* is here an acc., despite the apparent passive in the verb if we read *dātām tyā manā avadi[š] adāriy*; for *adāriy* differs from *adārīy*, Dar. Pers. e 8, only in being a strong aorist instead of a sigmatic aorist. Dar. Pers. e 8, *imā dahyāva tyā adam adārīy*, means ‘These are the provinces which I have brought into my possession’; Dar. NRa 21—22 means ‘The law which (is) mine, that brought them under its sway’. But *adārīy*, Bh. 2, 75. 90, is a true passive; the active form *adārāya* is transitive Bh. 1, 85 and Dar. NRa 41, but intransitive Bh. 2, 9 and 3, 23; the middle *ha[ma]dārāya[y]*, Bh. 1, 26, is transitive.

<sup>2</sup> Only in this passage is *dīš* orthotone; *daiy*, Bh. 5, 11, nom. plur. as acc., also is orthotone. But no other form of the stems *da- di- ša- ši-* appears except as an enclitic.

<sup>3</sup> This translation is provisionally kept here; but cf. §§ 64—69.

"Says Darius the king: Thou who shalt be king hereafter, the man who shall be a deceiver or who shall be a wrongdoer, these do thou not befriend, punish (them) with severe punishment."<sup>1</sup>

That *avaiy* is really an acc. plur. is shown by the idiom in Bh. 4, 55—56 and 74—75, *Auramazdā θuvām dauštā biyā*, where *θuvām* is an unmistakable acc. The idiom of a direct object governed by a transitive phrase consisting of a verbal noun and the copula, is found in many languages, cf. Plaut. *Cas.* 406, *Quid tibi istunc tactiost?*<sup>2</sup>

§ 60. Of all this, the part which is of importance for our *-šim* Bh. 4, 6, is the following:

1. *sim* is a singular, not a plural, and may be of any gender, though the neuter is unlikely, and the feminine is not of frequent occurrence in the OPers. inscriptions because of the nature of the subject matter.
2. The pronoun with a collective singular antecedent may be in the singular (*šim*, Bh. 1, 96; 5, 26—27); or in the plural (*šām*, Bh. 2, 20. 83; 3, 31. 57. 85; 5, 8; *diš*, Bh. 1, 65).
3. The pronoun with alternative singular antecedents may be in the plural (*avaiy*, Bh. 4, 69).
4. The antecedent may be suggested by another noun in the context, but not itself expressed, as at Dar. NRa 36—37, where *šām* represents a *dahyāva* implied from *būmim*.

§ 61. This last phenomenon may be paralleled in other literatures. For example, in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 2, verses 68—73, the Queen says to Hamlet,

<sup>1</sup> See preceding ftn.

<sup>2</sup> The other pronouns do not offer peculiarities with reference to their antecedents, but two deserve mention because of their interesting forms.

Dar. NR XV and XXIX have *iyema* = *iyam*, with plural predicate nominative. But *iyema* is merely miswritten for *imeiya* = *imaiy*, because in I, II, III, IV, [XVI], XVIII the formula is in the singular. All these are the inscriptions above the national types of the empire.

Bh. 4, 90 has *[niyap]išam iya [d]ipi \* \* \**, and 89 has *i[ya] dipi \* \* \** . . . if in the latter place King-Thompson are right in saying that the vacant space after the *i* has room for one character rather than for two. May this *iya* not really be *\*ī*, the original form of the nom. sing. fem. (Brugmann, *Gdr. d. vgl. Gram.* II<sup>2</sup>, 2, § 349, p. 355), properly to be written *īy*? This form may have been to a certain extent proclitic like the Greek *ὀ φ*.

Good Hamlet, cast thy nighted color off,	68
And let thine eye look like a friend on Denmark.	
Do not for ever with thy vailed lids	70
Seek for thy noble father in the dust.	
Thou know'st 'tis common; all that lives must die,	
Passing through nature to eternity.	73

In 72, 't has no expressed antecedent, though it refers manifestly to 'death', an idea drawn from the preceding two lines.

Again, in the same play, Act IV, Scene 6, near the end, in Hamlet's letter to Horatio, we read: "Ere we were two days old at sea, a pirate of very warlike appointment gave us chase. Finding ourselves too slow of sail, we put on a compelled valour; in the grapple I boarded *them*: on the instant *they* got clear of our ship; so I alone became *their* prisoner". The italicized *them*, *they*, *their*, look back to an antecedent *pirates*, which is not to be found, but is suggested by the word *pirate*, used in the meaning of the ship and not of the men on board the ship.<sup>1</sup>

§ 62. Since, therefore, the *šim* of Bh. 4, 6, has no antecedent expressed, we must seek that antecedent in the ideas suggested by the lines preceding the pronoun. Our *šim* is object of *ajanam*; what kind of an object is *ajanam* likely to take?

Forms of *jan* take the following objects:

*kāram*, Bh. 1, 89. 95; 2, 21. 26. 31. 36. 41. 46. 51. 55. 61. 69. 84. 87. 98; 3, 7. 15. 18. 39. 46. 63. 68. 86.  
*Vivāna* and the army of Darius, Bh. 3, 58.  
*Bābiruvīyā*, Bh. 3, 88.

The phrase *jatā biyā*, Bh. 4, 58. 78, governs a pronoun, *-taiy -tay*, denoting a person.

The passive participle *avajata*, Bh. 1, 32, has as its subject the name of a person.

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<sup>1</sup> Caesar, *BC.* 1, 36, 1, uses *is* to refer to the inhabitants of Massilia, implied from a preceding *Massiliam*. Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 942, uses *αὐτοῖς* to refer to a *πολιταί* inferred from a preceding *πόλις*, and in *Phil.* 1364, has *οἱ γε* meaning those at Troy, implied from a preceding *Τροίας*. Euripides, *Bac.* 959, uses *αὐτὸ τοῦτ'* with the idea of the preceding sentence as its antecedent; the single word which comes the nearest to being the antecedent is the plural *ἐπεκειν*. For these pertinent passages I am indebted to my friend and former colleague, Dr. E. S. McCartney, now of the University of Texas.

The forms of *ava+ā+jan* govern the following:

The name of an individual person, or a pronoun denoting the same: Bh. 1, 31. 31. 57. 73. 83; 2, 5. 13; 4, 81; 5, 13.

*kāram*, Bh. 1, 51. 52.

*martiyā tyaišaiy fratamā anušiya* Bh. 3, 75.

The Susians, or a pronoun, Bh. 5, 11.

*Sak[ā]*, or [*kāram tyam*] *Saka[m]*, Bh. 5, 25.

*šim*, referring to the logical plural *aniyam*, Bh. 5, 27.

*Pati+jan*, Dar. NRa 47, takes a collective singular object, *partaram*, 'the foe'.

Thus of all these, every one has as its object a word denoting a person or a group of persons; there is no idiom in OPers. which gives to the root *jan* a non-living object, such as in Tolman's 'waged them' (= battles), in Bh. 4, 6 for *adamšim ajanam*.<sup>1</sup>

§ 63. So, in Bh. 4, 6—7, *adamšim ajanam*, the object of *ajanam* should be a person or persons, and is represented by the singular pronoun *šim*. The only word in the preceding context that can suggest this antecedent is the neuter plural *hamaranā* 'battles.' Manifestly this implied antecedent must be a singular, but with a collective meaning, so as to be a logical plural. Out of *hamaranā*, therefore, I extract a collective singular word meaning 'foe', to serve as antecedent of *šim*. What this word may have been, it is difficult to say; but we may suggest the frequent *kāra hamiθriya*, or *partaram* (Dar. NRa 47, used collectively<sup>2</sup>), or even *aniyam* in its sense of 'rival' (Dar. Pers. d 11, e 20—21; see § 55 ftn.) With this interpretation, the difficulty about *šim* no longer remains, and we may render the passage, "Says Darius the king: This (is) what I did; by the grace of Ahuramazda, in one-and-the-same year after that I became king, I fought nineteen battles; by the grace of Ahuramazda I smote the foe and took-captive nine kings. One was . . ."

<sup>1</sup> *Fra+jan* 'to cut off (ears and nose and tongue)', Bh. 2, 74. 79, falls into a different semantic class in this point, while *jan* 'to smite', *ava+jan* and *ava+ā+jan* 'to smite down, to slay', and *pati+jan* 'to fight against', lie very close together.

<sup>2</sup> If only *hamaram* had not been supplanted in Dar. NRa 47 by the corrected reading *partaram*, it would have been the obvious word for the implied antecedent, because of its etymological relation with *hamaranā*.

VII. Ufraštādiy, Bh. 4, 69.

§ 64. Bh. 4, 67—69:

<i>ōātiy Dārayavauš xšāyāšiya tuvam [kā] xšāyāšiya</i>	67
<i>hya aparam āhy martiya [hya] draujana ahatiy hyavā [zū]rakara ** ahat-</i>	68
<i>iy avaiy mā dauštā [biy]ā ufraštādiy parsā</i>	69

“Says Darius the king: Thou who shalt be king hereafter, the man who shall be a deceiver or who shall be a wrong-doer, these do thou not befriend<sup>1</sup>; punish (them) *with severe punishment*”.

§ 65. The *ufraštādiy*, commonly translated ‘with severe punishment’, is interpreted as a loc. sing. to the fem. abstract substantive *ufrašti-*, plus the postposition *adiy*, = Skt. *adhi*.<sup>2</sup> Neither the substantive nor the preposition occurs again in the OPers. inscriptions, and a simpler explanation is here proposed.

§ 66. There are three other occurrences of the verb *fras-* ‘punish’,<sup>3</sup> accompanied in every instance with the compound of the participle with *u-* (Skt. *su-*, Av. *hu-*) ‘well’. They are as follows:

Bh. 1, 22 *hya araika āha avam ufrastam aparsam* ‘who was hostile, him I punished well(-punished)’.

Bh. 4, 38 *mart[iya hya drau]jana ahatiy avam ufraštam parsā* ‘the man who shall be a deceiver, punish him well(-punished)’.

Bh. 4, 66—67 *hya viyanā[sa]ya avam ufrastam aparsam* ‘who injured (my house), him I punished well(-punished)’.

§ 67. We have every time, the object *avam*, the predicate adjective *ufraštam*<sup>4</sup>, and the verb *fras-* in the indicative or imperative as the main verb of the sentence. But in Bh. 4, 69 we find the object *avaiy* in the plural, and should expect the predicate adjective to be in the plural. This would be *ufraštā*,

<sup>1</sup> On the syntax, see § 59.

<sup>2</sup> The reading *ufraštādiy* is assured by King-Thompson. For the interpretations, see Bartholomae, *IF.* 12, 110, and Tolman, *Lex.* 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Patī+fras-*, found Bh. 4, 42. 48, is too different in meaning to give any assistance for Bh. 4, 69.

<sup>4</sup> The variation between *s* and *š* is readily explainable as the result of leveling. The root *prek-* will regularly become Iranian *fras-*, *prk-ske-* becomes Iran. *parsa*, *prk-to-* (Skt. *prṣṭa-*) becomes Iran. *\*paršta-*. Mixture of the various tense stems will easily give both *frašta-* and *frasta-*.



which we have!<sup>1</sup> The problem is with the *-diy* or *-adiy*, or *-ādiy*, enclitic to the *ufraštā*.

§ 68. A postposition *adiy* = Skt. *adhi*, is quite out of place. I propose that this is the emphatic particle *-diy*, = Av. *zī*, Skt. *hi*. Though this word does not occur elsewhere in OPers., it is no worse off in that respect than *adiy*, and the corresponding *zī* is common in Av., while the Av. representative of *adiy* is found in only one word, Gāthic *a'dy-ū-*, later *a'dy-ū-* 'helfend, nützlich, brauchbar, tüchtig zu — —'. Thus *diy* has better Iranian support than has *adiy*. Its use in Bh. 4, 69 agrees admirably with the definition of Av. *zī* given by Bartholomae,<sup>2</sup> 'enkl. Part., hinter dem ersten Wort des Satzes; 3) *zī* steht in Sätzen, die b) eine Aufforderung enthalten'.

§ 69. Our passage therefore means, "these do thou not befriend; verily punish them well(-punished)".<sup>3</sup> Herewith *ufrašti-* and *adiy* are removed from the OPers. vocabulary, and the enclitic *diy* claims a place.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ufraštā* and *ufraštām* are in precisely the same relation to each other as *əakātā* and *əakatām*; curiously, the former of these was, precisely like *ufraštā*, long taken to be the loc. of an *-i*-stem, and, again like *ufraštā*, found its true place by a comparison with the singular form.

<sup>2</sup> *AIW*. 1693, 1695.

<sup>3</sup> Weissbach, *Keilinschr. d. Achäm.*, translates "bestrafe (sie) streng", though he gives no grammatical interpretation of the form. At 4, 38, he translates "den bestrafe streng", which in combination with the other suggests that he may have had nearly the view presented above.

*The Zakar and Kalamu Inscriptions.\**—By CHARLES C. TORREY,  
Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

The following translations and notes in spite of the late date at which they are presented may have some of the interest of early comments, since they were made in each case from the original publication of the inscriptions in photograph and facsimile, before I had seen any other publications in regard to them or had the benefit of any other study of them than my own. When the Zakar<sup>1</sup> Inscription was first published, by Pognon in 1908,<sup>2</sup> I had no leisure for studying it, and decided to leave it until the time when I should be able to read it with a class. This was also the case with the Kalamu Inscription, published in 1911 by F. von Luschan.<sup>3</sup> It was not until somewhat later that my purpose was carried out and the two inscriptions were read by me. In the case of each inscription the class and I first read it using the original publication only, without taking into account any of the literature which had subsequently appeared. Afterward, we compared the results reached by others. The following translations and comments are those originally made by me on the basis of the initial publications; where they have been corrected or supplemented by the work of other scholars, I have in every case expressly indicated the fact, both in the translation and in the commentary.

Both inscriptions, and the Zakar Inscription in particular, have been very variously interpreted, otherwise I should not have presumed to offer my own results in this extended form. Where

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\* This article was first put in type by the printers of this Journal in the fall of 1915. See the Note on page 319.

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the possible ways of pronouncing this name, see below.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul*, par H. Pognon. Seconde partie. Paris, 1908.

<sup>3</sup> *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, IV. Teil (Heft XIV der *Mitteilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen der Kgl. Museen zu Berlin*). Berlin, 1911.

the unknown quantities are so many, and the possible readings apparently so numerous, the agreement or disagreement of scholars working independently of one another has correspondingly greater importance. For this reason it has seemed to me worth while to present my conclusions, reached as above stated, at sufficient length to show clearly both the extent of their agreement with the results reached by others and also the extent of their divergence from the interpretations hitherto given. Except, however, in the few cases in which my own results have actually been modified or added to by the work of others, it has not seemed necessary to record here the readings and renderings preferred by Nöldeke, Littmann, Lidzbarski, Lagrange, Halévy, Brockelmann, Praetorius, Peiser, Montgomery, and others, whose publications I have read with great interest and with whom I am glad to find myself so often in agreement.

### 1. The Zakar Inscription.

In the printed text which here follows, words or letters supplied by conjecture are enclosed in square brackets. A heavy dot over the letter indicates that it is wholly or partially obliterated, or uncertain, in the original.

#### Text.

(First Fragment.)

- |    |   |
|----|---|
| 1  | נצבא זי שם זכר מלך חמת ולעש לאלור [בחורד]   |
| 2  | אנה זכר מלך חמת ולעש אש ענה אנה ונשמע א     |
| 3  | לי בעלשמין וקם עמי והמלכני בעלשמין ב        |
| 4  | חחורד והחורד עלי ברהרד בר חואל מלך ארם ש    |
| 5  | ם עשר מלכן ברהרד ומחנתה וברגש ומחנתה ו      |
| 6  | מלך קוה ומחנתה ומלך עמק ומחנתה ומלך גרגם ו  |
| 7  | מחנתה ומלך שמאל ומחנתה ומלך מלו ומחנתה ותרי |
| 8  | מלכין --- ומחנתהם ומלך --- ומחנתה ושבענתה   |
| 9  | הזמו ומחנתהם ושמו כל מלכיא אל מצר על חורד   |
| 10 | והרמו שר מן שר חורד והעמקו חרץ מן חרצה      |
| 11 | ואשא ידי אל בעלשמין ויענני בעלשמין וישל     |
| 12 | ח בעלשמין אלי ביד חוין וביד ערדן ויאמר ל    |
| 13 | י בעלשמין אל תחול כי אנה המלוכתך ואנה א     |
| 14 | קם עמך ואנה אחצלק מן כל מלכיא אל זי         |
| 15 | מחאו עליך מצר ויאמר לי ---                  |

- 16 כל מלכיא אל זי מחאו [עליך מצר]-----  
 17 --- ושורא זנה ז[י]-----

(Second Fragment.)

- 1 [---] [ומאש] חורך ק[סמ]ת  
 2 [אלפין] לרכב ולפרש  
 3 [לשמר] מלכה בגוה אנ  
 4 [ה בני]ת חורך והוסף  
 5 [ת אליה] אית כל מחנת  
 6 [---] נא ושמתה מלכ[תה]  
 7 [ושמ]תה אר[וקי ומלאת]  
 8 [אש] חסניא אל בכל גב  
 9 [וב]נית בתי אלהן בכול  
 10 [ארק]י ובנית אית ---  
 11 [---] [ו]אית אפש [ו]הוש  
 12 [בת אלה]יא בית [ממ]  
 13 [לכתי ו]שמת קדם [אל]  
 14 [ור] נצבא זנה וכו[ת]  
 15 [בת ב]ה אית אשר ידי [ע]  
 16 [שן] מן יהגע אית א[ש]  
 17 [מי] זכר מלך חמות ול  
 18 עש מן נצבא זנה ומן  
 19 [י]הגע נצבא זנה מן [ק]  
 20 [ר]ם אלור ויהנסנה מן  
 21 [אש]רה או מן ישלח ב[ה]  
 22 [ידה י]ה[שח]תה -----  
 23 [בע]לשמין ואל ---  
 24 [ור] --- ושמש ושהר  
 25 [ואלהי שמי]ן -----  
 26 [ואלהי] ארק ובעלע  
 27 [ל יהכה אית] אשא ואית  
 28 [ראשא ויסחו] ש[ר]שה

It is a pleasure to testify to the extraordinary accuracy and skill of Pognon's facsimile drawing. Without it I should often have been at a loss, and I do not know of any place at which it can be corrected.

## Translation.

(First Fragment.)

<sup>1</sup> The stele which Zakar, king of [Ha]math and Laaš, erected to ALWR [in Ḥazrek].<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> I am Zakar, king of Hamath and Laaš, whom, whenever I am in distress, <sup>3</sup> Baalšamain [hears] and supports.

Now Baalšamain made me to rule in <sup>4</sup> Ḥazrek. And Bar-Hadad, son of Hazael, king of Aram, united against me <sup>5</sup>th[ere] ten kings: Bar-Hadad and his army, Bar-RGŠ and his army, <sup>6</sup>the king of Qūē<sup>2</sup> and his army, the king of 'Emeq and his army, the king of Gurgum <sup>7</sup>[and his ar]my, the king of Sam'al and his a[rm]y, the king of Mēliz [and his a]r[my], the two <sup>8</sup>kings of . . . . and their armies, and the king of . . . . and his army.] And they fell [upon me suddenly, <sup>9</sup>t]hey and their armies; and all those kings laid siege to Ḥaz[rek], <sup>10</sup>and raised a wall higher than the wall of Ḥazrek, and dug a trench deeper than [its] moat.

<sup>11</sup>Then I lifted up my hands to Baalšamain, and Baalšamain answered me, and Baalšamain <sup>12</sup>[sent word] to me by seers and by men expert in numbers(?); [and thus to me said] <sup>13</sup>Baalšamain: Fear not, for I made thee ki[ng], and I will <sup>14</sup>sta]nd by thee, and I will rescue thee from all [these kings who] <sup>15</sup>have made siege against thee. And he said to [me] . . . . <sup>16</sup>all these kings who have made [siege against thee] . . . . <sup>17</sup>.. and this wall wh[ich] . . . .

(Second Fragment.)

<sup>1</sup> . . . . [And of the men(?) of] Ḥazrek I appointed <sup>2</sup>[2000(?)] for charioteers and horsemen <sup>3</sup>[to guard] her king in the midst of her. I <sup>4</sup>[buil]t up Ḥazrek, and adde[d <sup>5</sup>to her] all the district of <sup>6</sup> . . . . and made it her[?] possession, <sup>7</sup>and I made it my(?) land(?). [And I filled(?) <sup>8</sup>with men(?) all] those fortresses<sup>3</sup> on every side. <sup>9</sup>[And I bu]ilt temples in all <sup>10</sup>my lan[d]; and I built . . . . <sup>11</sup>and . . . ., and [caused <sup>12</sup>the god]s(?) [to dwell(?)] in [my capital-<sup>13</sup>city(?). And] I placed before

<sup>1</sup> Since the Hebrews reproduced the vowel of the last syllable as *a*, while the Assyrians transcribed it with *i*, it is likely that the native pronunciation was *ē*. The name is hardly Semitic.

<sup>2</sup> Original rendering altered, see note.

<sup>3</sup> Original rendering altered, see below.

[AL<sup>14</sup>WR] this stele, and w[r<sup>15</sup>ote upon] it that which my hands [had <sup>16</sup>done.]

Whoever destroys the n[ame] <sup>17</sup>of ZKR, king of Ham[ath and <sup>18</sup>La]aš, from this stele, or whoever <sup>19</sup>destroys this stele from <sup>20</sup>[befo]re ALWR, or removes it from <sup>21</sup>its [pla]ce, or whoever puts forth against [it] <sup>22</sup>[his hand, there shall] de[st]roy him ..... <sup>23</sup>... [Ba]alšamain and AL<sup>24</sup>[WR] ..... and Samaš and Sahar <sup>25</sup>..... and the gods of heaven <sup>26</sup>[and the god]s of earth; and with a tornado <sup>27</sup>[they shall smite him, both the] foundation and the <sup>28</sup>[head, and they shall tear out his] root.

### Notes to I.

In the following notes I have omitted the things which are sufficiently evident, or in regard to which there has been substantial agreement among those who have commented on the inscription.

1. It is quite useless to attempt to determine how the name of this king was pronounced. It might have been *Zakar* (like Nathan, etc.), that is, the shortened form of a name corresponding to Zachariah; or *Zakir*; or *Zakkūr*; and there are still other possibilities. Since, however, it is necessary to pronounce the name in some way, is it not simplest and best to adopt for convenience the two *a*-vowels, and say "Zakar"?

The missing word at the end of the line is probably כחזק "in Hazrek", since Zakar had made this his capital-city, and the inscription in its latter part implies that the stele in honor of אלור was erected there.

2. The traces of the character at the beginning of the second line are ambiguous. The letter intended is presumably א, not י.

ש in this line is not אש, but the relative pronoun. The language of the inscription is a mixture of Aramaic and Canaanitic very similar to what we find in the Hadad and Panamu inscriptions from Zenjirli. The relative pronouns אש, אשר (II, 15), and י here stand side by side. Similarly, classical Hebrew used contemporaneously, for a considerable period, the three relative pronouns אשר, ש, and י.

ענה might be either active or passive participle, according as the verb is used transitively or intransitively in this dialect. The force of the participle here is that of a general condition, the conclusion of which is contained in the two(?) participles

immediately following. For the missing verb, שָׁמַע (participle) may be supplied conjecturally, as a good possibility.

3. קָם is best regarded as participle, the form as in Hebrew. The whole sentence, "When I am in distress, Baalsamain hears me and stands by me", resembles very closely the sentence at the beginning of the Byblus inscription, where King Yaḥaumelek, after giving his name and title, continues: "And I call upon my Lady, the Mistress of Gebal, and she hears my voice", וְקָרָא אֲנִי אֶת רַבְתִּי בַעֲלַת גִּבְלִי וְשָׁמַעַי קָלִי.

4. The letters at the end of line 3 and the beginning of line 4 certainly formed the word בַּחֲזֹרֶךְ. Whatever may have been the territory included in "Hamath and Laaš", it is certain that the royal residence of King Zakar was Ḥazrek, and with this city the whole inscription is concerned.

5. The missing letter at the beginning of the line is ׀, which with the שׁ at the end of the preceding line formed the word שָׁם. there"; namely at Ḥazrek which has just been mentioned.

The number of kings in the coalition against Zakar is given as *ten*. As will be seen from the note on line 8, the actual enumeration mentioned probably *ten* though possibly *nine*.

6. It is quite likely that the end of line 5 and the beginning of line 6 originally stood thus: וּמֶלֶךְ קִיָּה. [I at first read קִיָּה\*\*, and supposed this to be the name of a king in which the first element was presumably the name of a god. It had seemed to me probable that line 5 ended with the ׀, and that there was not room for three letters in the missing beginning of line 6. As for the ambiguity in the form of the letter, compare for example the ׀ in מֶן in line 14. But Lidzbarski is evidently right in reading Qūē, the familiar name of a place in proximity to the others in this list.]

7. מֶלֶךְ is of course Melitene, the "Mēlid" which appears in lists of these same cities in the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser III. See Rost's edition, pages 12 and 26.

The ׀ in the latter part of this line is obviously a part of the word וּמַחֲנֵתָהּ.

8. The only characters in this line which are entirely preserved are the three, שָׁבַע, near the end. Just preceding them is the

\* The characters here are illegible, but ׀ seems to me much more probable than ׀.

shaft of a letter which was probably ן (compare the corresponding stroke in the same letter just above this one, in line 6). Still farther to the right are the shafts of three letters which from their angle and relative position certainly belonged to the word [ו]מ[ח]נ[ת]ה[ו].

It is to be presumed that King Zakar named *all* the kings of the coalition formed against him; and the word just restored, וּמַחְנֵתָה, "and *his* army", shows that up to the very end of the list he continued to name individual kings, instead of including a number of them in some common formula. We may assume that line 8 contained 34 or 35 letters (lines 6 and 9 had 33; line 7 had 35 or 36). In the vacant space from the beginning of the line to the (partially preserved) word וּמַחְנֵתָה there is easily room for 21 letters, measuring according to the line above. At the end of this space stood of course "and the King of \* \* \*" (a name of two or three letters). Preceding this was either "and their armies" or "and his army" (in the latter case, with only *nine* names, we should have to suppose that "ten" in line 5 was merely a round number). It is perhaps easiest to restore as I have suggested in my conjectured text and translation, but other ways are obviously possible. We might conjecture, for instance, וּמַחְנֵתָהם \* \* \* וּמַלְכֵי \* \* \*, supposing two petty kingdoms so closely connected that they were commonly named together. There is plenty of room for either restoration, and the conjectures which secure the number *ten* seem preferable.

It is evident from the context that this line ended with a finite verb; and the letters, or parts of letters, which are preserved make it practically certain that the verb was יִשְׁבַּעְתָּנִי (or, possibly, יִשְׁבַּעְתָּנִי written *plene*). This *šaf'el* form has not hitherto been found, so far as I am aware, but the root בַּעַת in one stem or another, is widely used in just this meaning: "attack suddenly, fall upon (an enemy) unexpectedly", and the like. In late Hebrew, the verb is used in this sense only in the *hif'il*; in Biblical Hebrew, it is the *pi'el* which means "fall upon, assail, overwhelm". So also in Jewish Aramaic, it is the *pa'el* which is thus employed, see for example the Targum of Ps. 18, 5. In Syriac, both *pe'al* and *af'el* are used alike (*improvisò invasit*); while in Arabic, بَغَت has this meaning in the I. stem. The especial fitness of a *haf'el* or *šaf'el* to express this idea needs no comment.



9. It is a question whether the ה of the pronoun **הָמוּ** stood at the beginning of this line or the end of the preceding. There appears to be room for it here, however.

11. At the end of the line, after **בְּעִלְשָׁמִין**, there is space for three or four letters; at the beginning of the next line there is space for one only. The missing verb presumably signified either "send word" or "reveal". Supposing the consecutive imperfect to have been employed (by no means a *necessary* supposition, even with the two verbs just preceding and the **וַיֹּאמֶר** in line 15), the easiest and most plausible conjecture is **וַיִּשְׁלַח**. Observe that this verb with the meaning "send a message" is found in classical Hebrew construed with **אֵל** and **בֵּיד**, as here; for example, in Jer. 27, 3.

12. At the end of this line, after **עֲרֹדִן** (either **עֲרֹדִן** or—more probably—**עֲרֹדִין**), there is room for six, possibly seven, letters; at the beginning of the next line there is space for one letter, hardly for two letters. We may conjecture either **וַיֹּאמֶר ל'**, or **וְכֹה אָמַר ל'** or possibly **כֹּה אָמַר ל'** the quotation of the oracle beginning at this point. That **אָמַר** was construed with **ל'**, rather than with **אֵל**, is made probable by line 15.

13. The last remaining characters in this broken line obviously formed the beginning of the word **הַמִּלְכָּתָךְ**, compare line 3. The remainder of the line can also be filled out with approximate certainty, the only possible doubt being this, whether the imperfect or the participle of **לָם** was employed. There is room for only one letter at the beginning of line 14.

14 ff. It is possible to supply the most of what is missing in the remaining lines which have been partially preserved. But it is quite useless to conjecture what the inscription contained after line 17, or to decide whether this episode of the "ten kings" was continued much further. The story of Zakar's deliverance may have been narrated at some length, or (as oftener happens) the bare fact of rescue by Baalšamain may have been stated in a single sentence.

#### Notes to II.

In the second fragment of the inscription, the normal line contains about fourteen letters. It is evident that we have here the conclusion of the inscription which began on the broad face of the stone, and commemorated the battle of the ten kings; and it also appears that the account of this battle was merely one

In lines 1—8 we have the conclusion of a section dealing with political achievements: the strengthening of Hazrek, the increase of the territory under her control, the building or equipping of numerous fortresses in the land, and possibly much more of the same kind. Lines 9—13 seem to be devoted to the building of temples and sanctuaries; and thereupon lines 13—16 mention once more the erection of this stele in the sanctuary of ALWR. Finally, in lines 16—28, we have the usual imprecation invoked at considerable length upon the one who changes, mutilates, removes, or otherwise disturbs the stele. The most of this concluding section has either been preserved or can be restored with probability.

4. The missing beginning of the line may be restored as follows: **וְהָיָה**, though some other verb may have been used. The beginning of line 5 is beyond doubt so far as its meaning is concerned, but it is not certain what preposition (**עַל**, **אֶת**, or **בְּ**) was used.

6. At the head of this line stood a proper name. That it was the name of a city or district, rather than that of a king, is evident from the use of the word *מִחְנֶת* (from *חֹנֶן*). The name ended in *א*, contained five or six letters, and may have begun in line 5. The suffix in *וּשְׁמָתָהּ* might refer either to *מִחְנֶת* or to the proper name. At the end of the line is the noun *מַלְכֶּת*. "dominion, possession". The final letter was undoubtedly a suffix, either first person singular or third person feminine referring to *Ḥazrek*.

7. The *תָּה* would seem to be the ending of a verb with suffix, similar to *וּשְׁמָתָהּ* in the line above. Possibly the same verb was used here also. Three, possibly four, letters are missing at the beginning of the line. The word beginning with *א* is most probably *אָרֶה*, with the suffix either of the first person or of the feminine singular. The line may be filled out conjecturally with the verb *וּמִלֵּאתָ*. If that is done, *אֵשׁ* is probably to be supplied at the beginning of line 8. [I at first read *סְנִיָּא*. "enemies", in line 8, in spite of the obvious difficulties in the way—and, I might add, in spite of the protest of some of the members of my class; who, however, could propose nothing better. It was not until I read Lidzbarski's note that I saw how *חֲסִנִּיָּא*, "fortresses", is made probable both by the context and by the trace of the letter *ח* which can be seen in the facsimile.]

8. It is worthy of remark how well this summary statement: "I filled all these fortresses with men" (see note on line 7) corresponds to the conjectural restoration of lines 1—3.

9-12. It is of course possible that Zakar's account of his services to the gods was confined to a single line, but more probably lines 10—12 furnish some details continuing the general statement in line 9. My restoration of line 12 (with the end of 11 and the beginning of 13) is pure conjecture, and many other ways of dealing with the few remaining letters might be found; but the conjecture has the merit of supposing a logical and natural order in this part of the inscription. After the introductory statement in 9, lines 10 and 11 name (as I believe) two famous sanctuaries in the kingdom; then the king tells how he dedicated (or built) temples in the capital-city, *Ḥazrek*; and thereupon returns, in the most natural way, to the mention of this stele erected in *Ḥazrek* to *ALWR*.

10. The word at the beginning of the line can hardly have been anything else than *אָרְקִי*, "my land". The two words fol-

lowing the repeated אִית in 10 and 11 must have been nouns of mutually similar character. In all probability they were the names of famous sanctuaries; compare the very frequent occurrence of such names, in just such a context as this, in the Babylonian-Assyrian inscriptions.

11. On אִפֶּשׁ see the note above. For the end of this line and the beginning of the next I have conjectured וְהוֹשַׁבְתָּ, "and I caused to dwell, inducted"; compare the use of the same verb, describing the dedication or building of temples to gods, in lines 16 and 17 of the Ešmunazar Inscription.

12. בֵּית מַמְלַכְתִּי or its equivalent, is certainly desirable here, in order to designate the place where this monument was erected.

15. Regarding the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר see the note on I, 2. In an inscription in which the Canaanitic element is so strongly marked, אִית אֲשֶׁר is certainly to be expected. אִית would be noticeable. For the end of the line I have conjectured עָשָׂו. A truly Aramaic verb may have been used, and a feminine form employed; but it seems to me more likely that the whole phrase, אִית אֲשֶׁר יְדִי עָשָׂו, was a standing Canaanite formula borrowed by these Aramaeans, like several other formulas in this inscription.

16. The verb הִנֵּעַ here and in line 19, cannot mean merely "disturb" or "injure"; if from  $\sqrt{\text{נע}}$ , what is intended is an injury so drastic as to amount to destruction, and "destroy" is the meaning required in both places. The word beginning with א. at the end of the line, is either אֲשֶׁמִי, "my name", or else simply אֲשֶׁם, "name". For the orthography with initial א. compare the Hadad Inscription, line 16. Four crimes are named, in the most natural order: (1) obliterating the king's name; (2) destroying the monument; (3) removing it from its place; (4) injuring it in any way whatever. The king was careful for the safety of the monument, but most of all for his own property right in it. So also frequently in other inscriptions; see my note on the Byblus Inscription and a building inscription of Assurbanipal, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XXVI, 78.

20. The verb הִנֵּם, whether *haf'el* or not, means simply "remove". I cannot see, either here or in the Nerab Inscription, any plausible connection with the late Heb.-Aram. אָנַם.

22. At the beginning of the line stood יִדָּה; then followed, presumably, a verb (imperfect tense) with suffix. There is

barely room for יהשחיה, and the top of the first ה can be seen in the photograph. There is space for five or six letters at the end of 22; and for four, before ל[בע], at the beginning of 23, but it seems useless to conjecture what stood there.

24. Observe the order; the moon-god is usually named before the sun-god, in the old Aramaic inscriptions known to us.

26. The restoration ובעלל "and with a whirlwind", seems to be absolutely certain. Thus the gods destroy those of whom no trace is to be left behind. So Mohammed, in the Koran, repeatedly tells how a wicked man, or tribe, was wiped out of existence by a *tornado*. Compare also the well known passage in the *Midrash Echa*, narrating the sudden disappearance of the infant who was supposed to be the Messiah: there came whirlwinds (עלעלין) and snatched him away, so that he was never seen again (Dalman, *Dialektproben*, 15, 13).

27. We have here either אשן. "foundation", or אשן. "head". This was preceded by אית, before which stood a verb meaning "smite", which may have had the suffix of the third person singular.

28. For the first word in this line we must conjecture either ראשן or אשן (or its equivalent), according to the restoration of the preceding line. After this stood presumably ויסחן. "and may they tear out". Compare line 9 of the first Nerab Inscription, also the imprecations in the Ešmunazar Inscription, lines 11 and 22, and especially line 14 of the Teima Inscription.

## 2. The Kalamu Inscription.

I append the following briefly annotated translation of the Kalamu Inscription, made at the same time, and also before seeing any other text, translation, or treatment of the inscription than what is given in the original publication in Vol. IV of the *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*. Suggestions or corrections since derived from later publications I have in every case indicated as such, both in the translation and in the notes. My own rendering very closely resembles the one given by Lidzbarski in his *Ephemeris*, III, 218 ff., and therefore few notes are needed.

### Translation.

<sup>1</sup>I am Kalamu, the son of Hayyā. <sup>2</sup>Gabbar ruled over Ya'dī, and accomplished nothing; <sup>3</sup>likewise BMH, and accomplished

nothing;<sup>1</sup> so also (my) father Ḥayyā, and accomplished nothing; so also (my) brother \*Še'il, and accomplished nothing. But I, Kalamu, man of integrity—that which I accomplished <sup>5</sup>no one (even) of their predecessors had done.

My father's house was in the midst of mighty kings, <sup>6</sup>and every weapon humbled them. And I was in the midst of the kings as though I were eating <sup>7</sup>my beard, or even were eating my hand. The king of the Da[m]unim(?) was mighty against me, and I hired <sup>8</sup>against him the king of Assyria. A girl was sold for a sheep, and a man for a garment.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>9</sup>I, Kalamu, son of Ḥayyā, sat upon the throne of my father. In the presence of the former <sup>10</sup>kings the *Muškabim* had gone about like dogs; but I—to one I was a father, to another a mother, <sup>11</sup>to another a brother. He who before me had not seen a sheep, him I made the owner of a flock; who before me had not seen an ox, him I made the owner of <sup>12</sup>cattle, of silver, and of gold. He who from his youth up had not seen a coat, in my day was clothed in fine linen. <sup>13</sup>And I took the *Muškabim* by the hand, and gave them an affection (for me) like the affection of the fatherless for his mother.

Whoever of my sons <sup>14</sup>sits (on the throne) after me, and does damage to this inscription, may the *Muškabim* not honor the *Ba'ririm*, and the *Ba'ririm* <sup>15</sup>not honor the *Muškabim*! And whoever shall destroy this inscription, may there destroy his life Baal Semed the god of Gabbar, <sup>16</sup>Baal Ḥammān of BMH, and Rekeb-El, the Lord of the House!

### Notes.

**Line 1.** I choose "Kalamu" as the simplest vocalization, which also has the support of analogy in Panamu. It does not seem likely that the name is Semitic.

**2.** Vocalize כָּ (not כִּי) in all three places. I think Lidzbarski is mistaken in regard to this word. I at first read כְּנִה "his son", in spite of the obvious difficulty of this reading. Lidzbarski's note convinced me that the proper name כְּמִה is the true reading; and in a photograph of the restored monument which I have recently seen the doubtful letter seems to be plainly כ. אב "(my) father" and אח "(my) brother," as here connected, probably had no possessive pronominal endings in pro-

<sup>1</sup> Translation slightly altered; see the note.

<sup>2</sup> Original translation improved in this sentence, see note below.

nunciation, but the phrases were a kind of compound proper name: "Father Ḥayyā" and "Brother Še'il," just as in English and other modern languages. This is perfectly natural in Semitic also, and perhaps especially in the semi-humorous colloquial style in which the whole inscription is conceived. Lidzbarski (*Ephemeris* III, 226 f., cf. 234) thinks that spoken suffixes of both 1st and 3d pers. are usually omitted in the writing of this inscription. This does not seem to me to be true in any case; see the notes below.

4. שאל is a Semitic name, at all events. The vocalization is quite uncertain. Even the fact that this dynasty was presumably Aramaic does not settle the question. Kalamu's designation of himself as כר תכמת is just like what we find in other inscriptions. [I am interested to see that Littmann and Lidzbarski supply the same letters to fill the gap, though interpreting them differently.] מאש is מה אש "that which".

5. In הלפניהם the second ה is not the result of a blunder. The suffix refers to the kings from Gabbar to Še'il, and the whole word therefore refers to the kings of former dynasties. Kalamu would hardly have committed the *faux pas* of boasting that he "did more" than those who had "done nothing"!

6. The imperfect tense in ילל[ה]ם expresses customary or continued action. So also in line 8. כמאש like מאש in line 4; on the pronunciation see below, line 10.

7. אכלת. lines 6 and 7, is perfect tense, active voice, 1st pers. sing. "Eating the beard" or (stronger) "eating the hand" seems to have been proverbial for the condition of one who is reduced to the last extremity. This being the case, there is no need to suppose suffixes to ין and יד. It is plain from every part of this inscription (though the fact has not received the attention it deserves) that we are dealing with the idioms of a language with a long literary history. It is also very important to keep in mind the unusual personal element in this royal composition, and the peculiar mood in which King Kalamu is speaking, in both halves of the document. It is certainly with studied purpose, and in keeping with his own habit, that he expresses himself in a whimsically humorous, almost jocose way, even in such stern passages as lines 6 f., 8, and 14.

The proper name in this line might easily be either Damuni(m) or Dunani; see the names from this same region, expressly designated as Aramaean peoples, in Rost, *Tiglathpileser*, 24, 56.

The word is written with ' presumably because the name of the land (like Ya'di) ended in i.

8. The same use of the imperfect tense as in line 6; see the note there. [I at first rendered this clause in a way very closely resembling that defended by Brockelmann (*Sitzungsber. der K. Preuss. Akad.*, LIII, 1144 ff.), but the first sight of Littmann's rendering (*ibid.*, 977 ff.) convinced me. I was inclined at first after seeing Lidzbarski's argument in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 13. Jan., 1912, to cancel אַנְך at the beginning of the line, but after further study I returned to my former opinion, that the text is right as it stands. Lidzbarski claims (*Ephemeris* III, 230) in support of his view, that the inscriptions of Tabnit and Ešmunazar "weisen beide mehrere Fehler auf". This is a mistake. The Tabnit Inscription contains no error at all; the only error in Ešm. is the careless writing of מַמְלַכָּה in lines 9 and 11. But it must be remembered that *these lines had been carved twice*. The *first* time they were inscribed, around the head of the sarcophagus, no mistake whatever was made. It was only when the beginning of the inscription was *repeated*, on the same sarcophagus, that the stone-cutter made his harmless slips. See further ZA. XXVI, 80—86.] The picturesque use of the present participle, שֹׁכֵר, at the end of line 7, seems to me perfectly natural. It is good classical style.

9. לַפָּן here, and פָּן in line 11 (twice), probably had no vocalic ending. Cf. Assyrian *lapān*.

10. יְחֻלְכֵּן was my own independent reading. It likewise seemed plain to me, from the first, that מְשַׁכְּנִים and כְּעֵרְרִים designated the two classes or divisions which constituted the people of Kalamu's kingdom, the names having been given originally, perhaps, in jest. Obviously, from the etymology combined with lines 10—13, the מְשַׁכְּנִים were the *unfortunate* class, those who had been "prostrated", either through subjugation or by other circumstances. It is equally plain that the class called כְּעֵרְרִים (of course the Syriac word came immediately to mind) had the upper hand and were in more tolerable circumstances. Other facts made certain or probable by the inscription are these: (1) The contrast between the two classes is thought of as permanent; they are always present in the kingdom, and will continue to exist side by side. Every future king will have them to deal with. (2) The Muškabim had been slighted (at least) by the kings of the Kalamu dynasty. (3) This class



constituted a large part, probably the larger part, of the community. Otherwise, it would make little difference whether they "honored" the Ba'rîrim or not. (4) It is evident from the semi-humorous imprecation in line 14 that Kalamu himself had had considerable trouble from the friction between the two classes.

• כם with following dot suggests the pronunciation *kam*. So very likely *kam aš* in line 6 (otherwise Lidzb. *Ephem.* III, 234, 21). The enclitic and redundant use is interesting.

In the לַמִּי of this line and the following, מִי is the interrogative pronoun used as an *indefinite*: "To any one (of them) you please I was a father", etc. This is a thing which happens very easily in many languages, the interrogative becoming first an indefinite relative (like מִי in lines 11—15 of this same inscription) and then a genuine indefinite. There are excellent analogies in Semitic. In Assyrian, the indef. pron. *mamma(u)* is simply the reduplicated interrogative. In Syriac, the phrase ܡܚܝܬܐ ܡܚܝܬܐ, "such and such a one, any one you please", would be used in just such a context as this. In Arabic, it is possible to say مَرَرْتُ بِمَنْ حَسْبِي, "I passed by this or that generous person". This last example is an especially close parallel, but the explanation of לַמִּי is certain in any case.<sup>1</sup>

13. I cannot see that Lidzbarski's translation here is justified. In spite of his footnote (*ibid.* p. 234), which is misleading, תַּמְךָ never means "stützen"; nor do I see how לִיד could mean "an der Seite" here. שָׁת is perf. 1st pers. sing. (cf. כָּת in lines 6 and 10 f.). הַמַּת is one of the *two* objects of the verb שָׁת. Cf. Ps. 21, 13, etc., and see Ges.-Kautzsch § 117, 5, bβ. If it had been the subject, some other verb would have been used.

14. נִזְקָה like نَزَقَ, etc. A natural construction for this verb, though not known heretofore. It seems to me quite certain that שָׁב and יָזַק are *imperfects*, as we should expect; see יִשְׁחַת in line 15, and cf. Hadad line 15 f., etc. יָזַק is probably *qal* stem, otherwise we should expect יִהְיוּ. It is a very common thing for the simple stem of a Semitic verb to have both

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<sup>1</sup> I think that Lidzbarski is mistaken (*ibid.* III, 64) in proposing to emend the כִּן וְ אֵת of the Cilician boundary inscription to כִּן אֵת וְ. The reading is idiomatic as it stands.

the active and the passive signification. Arab. نقص is one good parallel.

15. ראש is not "his head", the word is not thus intended, but is an indefinite adverbial accusative. Arab. رأس "ganz und gar" is the exact equivalent; this is "capital punishment." Such a phrase as "root and branch" could be used in this place.

16. Kalamu invokes the chief gods of his dynasty: those introduced by Gabbar and by BMH, and finally the one who was the god of their whole family, רכנאל. Cf. not only Panamu 22 but also BarRekub 5.

*An Aramaic Inscription from Cilicia, in the Museum of Yale University.*—By CHARLES C. TORREY, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

The ancient Aramaic monument described in the following pages was brought to the United States recently<sup>1</sup> by an Armenian merchant, and was purchased in 1915 by Colonel Isaac M. Ullman of New Haven for the Museum of Yale University. It is a block of yellowish gray flint, said to have been cut out of a cliff above the river Cydnus, in the neighborhood of the village Kesejek Keoyew, about fifteen miles northeast of the city of Tarsus. A portion of the surface of the rock was prepared to receive the inscription, a rectangular area measuring 18 by 12 inches being chiseled out, somewhat roughly, to a depth of perhaps half an inch. The letters, measuring from 1½ to 2 inches in height, were incised and then filled in with red paint, after the well-known fashion.

The rock has weathered somewhat, in spite of its hardness, and portions of the inscription have suffered accordingly. Not one of the characters has entirely perished, however, though several of them are nearly obliterated. In the only cases of this nature where more than one reading would be possible, the remaining traces are of such a character as to make it quite certain what letter was intended. The text of the whole inscription is thus pretty well assured. In the accompanying facsimile drawing, made from the stone itself, I have attempted to indicate the relative distinctness of the remaining letters or portions of letters. Solid black means that both incision and paint are plainly to be seen. The partly shaded portions are those in which either the painting or the incised line is unmistakably clear, but not both. Where the drawing is in outline, only ambiguous traces, or no traces at all, can be seen. It is perhaps needless to remark that some of the lines and furrows which in

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<sup>1</sup> This article was first put in type by the printers of this Journal in the fall of 1915. See the Note on page 319.





אֲלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ



the photograph look like plain marks of the engraver's tool are not such in reality.

The language of the inscription is Aramaic, and the characters employed are all of a familiar type. On the palaeographical evidence—always somewhat precarious—the monument should be dated in the fifth century B. C. Of the inscriptions hitherto published, those most nearly resembling ours in the forms of the characters used are the Memphis inscription, CIS II, 122, dated 482 B. C., the Teima stele, CIS II, 113, belonging to the fifth century, and the Cilician hunting inscription, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, Plate XXVI, 3, probably also dating from the fifth century. It is worthy of remark, moreover, that in the series of coins issued by the Persian satraps in Cilicia in the first quarter of the fourth century (Pharnabazus, Datames; the coins all minted in Tarsus) the Aramaic legends show an alphabet of a distinctly and uniformly later type than that which is seen in our inscription and in the hunting inscription (just mentioned) of this same region. The characters which are significant are 𐤀, 𐤁, and 𐤂, the last-named in less degree than the others. The later forms referred to were developed in Egypt, by scribes writing on papyrus, as early as the beginning of the fifth century; they even appear on one stone monument known to us, the sandstone stele erected at Assuan in the year 458 B. C. (see *Repertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, Nr. 438). The forms of 𐤀 and 𐤁, especially, were admirably adapted to the lapidary style, and took firm hold wherever they were introduced. Beginning with the Cilician coinage of 379—374, they are the forms almost exclusively used in every variety of the Aramaic alphabet, in all the territory between Egypt and Mesopotamia. They are totally absent, neither of them being even suggested, in the hunting inscription and on our stone from Tarsus, as well as in the inscription on the boundary stone from this region published by Montgomery in this *Journal*, 28 (1907), 164—167.<sup>1</sup> We shall therefore hardly err in dating all these monuments as early as the fifth century B. C.

Accompanying the inscription, originally, was the "image" (פְּתִיכָה) which it celebrates. But according to the testimony of a native of the region who has seen the stone *in situ*, there is at present no trace of any image or sculptured symbol in the

<sup>1</sup> The characters of this last-named inscription (on which see also ZA. XXVI, 90f.) appear to belong to a slightly later stage of development.



neighborhood. Possibly it has been overlooked, but more probably it has perished. The above-mentioned native asserted that there was a small Turkish garrison across the river, whose sharpshooters occasionally took a shot at this distant mark. Certain spots on the hard surface of the block were said by him to be the traces of well-aimed bullets. It is barely possible that the image of the god came to its end in this manner. The disappearance of the symbol or sculpture, while the inscription remains, has its parallel in the case of the Nabatean inscription in Petra, discovered by Sverdrup and published by me in this *Journal*, 29 (1908), 197—202, since there the "stelae" of the two gods were no longer to be found. Another instance of the kind is the Nabatean inscription Nr. 58 in the Jaussen-Savignac collection (*Mission archéologique en Arabie*, p. 216); see also Dalman, *Neue Petra-Forschungen*, p. 97.

#### Text and Translation.

פתכר זנה הקם ננשת  
 קדם אדרסון לגננה  
 נפשי זי לה ומן ביש  
 יעבר עם פתכר זנה  
 ויבעה לה שהר ושמש

This image NNŠT erected  
 before ADRSWN, because he protected  
 my spirit, which is his. Whoever evil  
 does to this image,  
 Sahar and Šamaš will require it of him.

#### Notes.

**Line 1.** The Persian word פתכר, "image", chiefly familiar through its use in classical Syriac, has not hitherto been found in any Semitic text approximating the age of this one. The omission of the determinative ending -ā (also in line 4) is very remarkable. We have, indeed, נצב זן in the Hadad and Panamu inscriptions from Zenjīrlī; but the peculiar dialect of these two monuments is too remote to afford a satisfactory parallel.

The two proper names in the inscription are apparently not Semitic, but Cilician. No name corresponding to either of them has been found elsewhere, and the problems of pronunciation and signification are likely to remain unsolved. The first part of the name ננשת might be the *Nan(a)* which as a divine name

is so widespread in Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> From Cilicia, aside from the typical forms *Náva*, *Návas*, *Návη*, with numerous variations, we have the allied forms *Narrw*, *Nḡvis*, *Nvéts* (?), *Nevápios*, *Nevápis*, etc.; see J. Sundwall, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier* (Beiheft XI. zu *Klio*, 1913), pp. 165 ff., 288; Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, 341 f. Or, instead of supposing **𐤍** to contain the divine name, we might regard it as representing the appellative *nēni*, "uncle" (Sundwall 273). "Ein besonderes Charakteristikum der kleinasiatischen Namensgebung ist indessen die Verwendung von Verwandtschaftswörtern als Personennamen" (*ibid.* 272). The **𐤍** might then represent the element *stta*, which is extensively used as an ending in proper names, appearing in Greek as *-στα*, *-στης*, *-στις*, etc. (*ibid.* 196). One of the names of this kind which has been found in Cilicia is *Oueotis*, masculine, the first element in which is the *uwe*, *uwa*, "family" (?), which also appears as *Oas*, etc., and has been found combined with *Nana* in one of the characteristic double names, *NavasOas* (*ibid.* 237, 265). We have therefore some ground for conjecturing *Nanašt* as approximately the pronunciation of the name in our inscription.<sup>2</sup>

3. The reading of the name in this line is not quite certain. There is room for doubt as to the two letters **𐤒𐤒**; though since the shaft of the one is distinctly shorter than that of the other, and **𐤒** throughout the inscription is shorter than **𐤒**, I have little hesitation in reading them as I have indicated.<sup>3</sup> The **𐤓** is somewhat mutilated, but hardly to be questioned nevertheless. The **𐤔**, finally, is an indistinct character, for only slight traces of the incision can be seen, and but little paint remains. It seems plain that the name of the god must include these six letters.

No divine name corresponding to **𐤍𐤕𐤓𐤕** is known. We are reminded, however, of the deities and demigods worshipped

<sup>1</sup> Also known in Greece; thus, the inscription from the Peiraeus, CIA. III, 131, *Ἀπρέμωδῃ Νάνα*, and a few others. See Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, 355 ff.

<sup>2</sup> There are other less likely possibilities, which need not be considered here at length. The **𐤍** might be connected with the Cilician god *Ootasos* (Sundwall, 236), or even with the far more familiar *Σάδων*.

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to see how, in the series of Cilician coins above mentioned, dating from the early part of the fourth century, an attempt was made to distinguish between these two letters. Not the length of the shaft, as formerly, but the shape of the head was now used as the criterion; see Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, Plate IX, A, Nos. 2, 3, and 4.

under the names Ἀδραστος and Ἀδράστεια, names widespread in Asia Minor (see Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*) and probably originating there; see especially Buckler and Robinson, "Greek Inscriptions from Sardes", in the *Am. Journal of Archaeology*, 1912, 29 f. The first element of the name is probably the *adra* which appears in Adrastos, etc. (Sundwall, 45 f., cf. 87);<sup>1</sup> compare also the Cilician *nomen relativum* Ἀδρασσεύς, from *adr(a)-aza* (*ibid.* 46). Other possibilities are too remote to need mention here. For the ending -ων(?) we may compare Σαρπηδων, Σανδων (*zāta*), both Cilician names, also Σωζων (*zuza*), name of a Lycian-Pisidian god, to be found probably in the Cilician city-name Σωζοπετρα; as well as many other names of persons (Δαρων, Βρυων, Καρων, Κομων, Νοτιων. Πουσων, etc.).

After the final ם of the name just considered, the stone shows a deep furrow, which seems to have obliterated a character in this line as well as part of the כ in the line below. The missing character appears to have been ל; the extremity of its upward stroke can still be seen above the furrow, and the shape of the fracture also suggests this letter. The following letter, if י stands at a very unusual angle. The next to the last letter in the line is hardly י; apparently the top of a י has been lost, for a bit of the stone has been chipped off at just this point. With my reading לננה compare the אנן (*af'el*) so often used on the Palmyrene tesserae for the "protection" sought from the god, also the occasional use of the *pe'al* in Jewish Aramaic (like the *gal* גל in Hebrew). The whole phrase is like לחי נפשה in CIS II, 114.

3. נפשי ילה is unusual, but the reading seems assured. Note ביש instead of באש.

5. Redundant י, as in Kalamu 12 and often elsewhere. "Will require it (acc.) of him (לה)"; the idiom which is frequently employed in Syriac with the verb תבעת, for example. Sahar and Šamaš, as in the boundary stone inscription published by Montgomery (where Baalšamain was also included).

<sup>1</sup> This element *adra* has by some been regarded as Semitic (see references in Buckler and Robinson, *l. c.*), but without good reason. It may be added, that the three place-names Adramyttium, Hadrumetum, and Hadramaut, which because of their striking resemblance have frequently been treated as mutually equivalent (references *ibid.*), are in reality of quite diverse origin.

*Studies in Semitic Grammar*.\*—By FRANK R. BLAKE, Ph.D.,  
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## I. Apparent Interchange between ה and נ in Semitic.

There are quite a number of cases in the Semitic languages where we find cognate words or forms appearing now with ה and now with נ. Sometimes both forms occur in the same language, sometimes ה appears in one and נ in another. For example, we have in Hebrew both נח and חנ 'how'; in Biblical Aramaic ח in Arabic ان 'if'; in Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic, a causative with preformative ה in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Syriac, one with preformative נ.

Some of these changes are undoubtedly phonetic, i. e., due to the operation of some law of simple sound change, as, e. g., is the Cockney interchange between *h* and the glottal catch; or resulting from the combination of sounds that the word presents.

The most important cases of phonetic interchange of *h* and ' are the following:<sup>1</sup>

- a) In Assyrian an original Semitic *h* regularly becomes ', e. g., Heb. הלך. Ass. *alâku* 'go'.
- b) An initial ' seems to have become *h* in some Old Arabic dialects, e. g., *hin*, *hiâka*, *hamâ* for اِنْ, اِيَّاكَ, اَمَّا.
- c) In some Aramaic dialects and in modern Syrian Arabic an ' is dissimilated to *h* on account of the presence of another ' in the word, e. g., Syr. Ar. *ha'rab* < 'a'rab < اقرب 'bring near', Syriac سِنَا < *h'stâ'a* (*t* = *t'*) 'sin', Mandaic *hattiqâ* < 'attiqâ (*q* = *k'*) 'old'.

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\* This article was first put in type by the printers of this Journal in the summer of 1915. See the Note on page 319.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Gram.*<sup>2</sup> § 52, and Brockelmann, *Grundriss d. vergl. Gram. d. semitischen Sprachen*, vol. i, pp. 45, 240, 242f.

Many of the cases of interchange between *h* and *'*, however, are apparently not phonetic, but result from special causes in each case, among which analogy plays a very important part.

The chief cases of this apparent interchange are the following, viz. :—

- a) Heb. הַיִּךְ הַיִּךְ 'how': here *h* is the original consonant, הַיִּךְ of הַיִּךְ being due to analogy of the interrogative particle הַיִּךְ. Similarly the Targumic interrogatives הַיִּדָּא הַיִּדָּא 'which' for הַיִּדָּא הַיִּדָּא which also occur, are probably the result of the same analogy.
- b) Syr. اِنَّ, اِنَّ and اِنَّ, 'they': the difference in initials may be due to confusion between personal pronouns with ה initial and a series of accusative forms consisting of the particle הַיִּךְ + suffix, such as occurs in Talmudic הַיִּדָּא הַיִּדָּא 'them';<sup>1</sup> or, inasmuch as the forms with *h* are employed as verbal object, the ה may have become *h* or been lost completely after an immediately preceding verb, as, e. g., in English, 'I saw 'im (him)'.
- c) Arab. اِنَّ, Heb. and Bib. Aram. הַיִּךְ, interrogative particles: two different particles,<sup>2</sup> perhaps ultimately identical in primitive Semitic.
- d) Hebr. הַיִּךְ, Syr. اِنَّ, Arab. اِنَّ, Eth. ለማ ለማ ለማ, Bib. Aram. הַיִּךְ 'if': the הַיִּךְ of Bib. Aram. is due to the influence of the interrogative particle הַיִּךְ or perhaps is a combination of this particle and הַיִּךְ (cf. Hebr. הַיִּךְ), the change originating in the case of 'in 'whether' in the indirect question.
- e) Arab. اِنَّ, Heb. הַיִּךְ, הַיִּךְ, 'behold'; *h* is original, הַיִּךְ is due to the influence of demonstrative particle *hā*.<sup>3</sup>
- f) Hebr. הַיִּךְ, Bib. Aram. הַיִּךְ, Syr. اِنَّ, اِنَّ 'then': *h* is original, the הַיִּךְ of the Syriac forms is probably due to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *h* as interrogative particle seems to occur in אִלּוּ 'verily' = אִלּוּ, and perhaps in some other particles, cf. my paper *The Interrogative Particle h in Hebrew*, *AJSL*, vol. xxxiii, No. 2, Jan. 1917, pp. 146-148.

<sup>3</sup> So Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, vol. i, p. 501 a. In Hebrew the *h* of אִלּוּ instead of *h* is perhaps due to the analogy of the synonymous particle הַיִּךְ.

some analogy with the demonstrative pronouns with initial ה, הָ, הַ 'this' etc. What the *ḡ* is is not clear.<sup>1</sup>

- g) Heb. הַקְטִיל, Bibl. Aram. הַקְטִיל; Arab. أَقْتَل, Syr. اَعْمَد, Eth. አቀጥሎ here we have two different causative particles.<sup>2</sup>  
 h) Loan words; *h* is sometimes prefixed to borrowed words beginning with a vowel, possibly an attempt to represent initial vowel without glottal catch, e. g., Heb. הַיָּכֵל, Bib. Aram. הַיָּכֵל, Syr. ܗܝܠܐ from Ass. *êkallu* (Sum. *e-gal*) Jew. Aram. הַפְּרִיקִי from Greek Ἀφραή.<sup>3</sup>  
 i) There are a number of nouns and verbs having *h* in one language and ' in another, e. g.,

Syriac ܡܥܬܠܐ Arabic إِبِلٌ 'herd of camels'

Hebrew הַפֵּךְ 'turn' Arabic أَفَلَكٌ 'change'

Arabic سَهَفٌ 'thirst' Hebrew שָׁאַף 'gasp after,' etc.

In each case one form presents the original consonant, and the other form is probably modified as the result of some special analogical influence which is often not apparent.

There is a decided tendency among Semitic grammarians towards explaining all interchange in sounds as the result of a phonetic change, ignoring wholly or in part the important role played by analogy in every living speech. That many of the interchanges herein discussed are not the result of phonetic change has, I think, been well established. It is not unlikely that a closer study of many other sporadic changes of vowels and consonants would yield similar results.

## II. The Etymology of the Aramaic particle אֵיתִי. אֵיתָ.

One of the most important of the Semitic particles is the one that appears in Hebrew as וְ, in Assyrian as *išu*, in Arabic as

<sup>1</sup> A similar *ḡ* is found in many demonstrative adverbs, cf. Brockelmann *Grundriss*, vol. i, § 108 *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, vol. i, p. 520 G. Phœnician יִקְטֵל probably represents the form יִמְקֵט i. e., 'iqtil < 'aqtil, the syllable 'i being written with *ḡ* somewhat as in Syriac forms like ܡܝܢ 'hand' (pronounced *idd*), cf. *op. cit.*, p. 525 top.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 243, Anm.

لَيْسَ = *la-isa*, all used under certain conditions to render the verb 'to be'. With these particles the Biblical Aramaic ܠܝܣܐ. Syr. ܠܝܣ are regularly identified, the *š* being considered *š*<sup>1</sup> (= Aram. *t*, Arab. *th*), and the *s* of Arabic لیس being explained as due to irregular sound change.<sup>1</sup> The difficulty presented by the initial consonant, which is ' in Hebrew and Arabic, and probably also in Assyrian, but ܢ in Aramaic, has been consistently passed over as of no moment, as an instance of a sound change which is often found in Semitic, in spite of the fact that no such phonetic law as Aram. ܢ = Heb. and Arab. ' can be shown to exist.

The particles ܠܝܣ and ܠܝܣܐ, however, are probably not identical. The *š* of ܠܝܣ is not to be considered *š*<sup>1</sup> but *š*<sup>2</sup>, like *š* in ܠܝܣܐܢܐ. *lišānu*, ܠܝܣܐܢܐ. The particle ܠܝܣܐ is best identified with Hebrew ܠܝܣܐ, the *nota accusativi*, the difference in meaning being such as could easily develop in the case of particles of a pronominal character, and the only other difference between the two being in the quantity of the vowel, as Hebrew *ē* is a secondary development of short *i*. Both ܠܝܣ and ܠܝܣܐ with their related forms are apparently the result of the combination of shorter particles of a demonstrative character, originally perhaps four in number, viz., *iā*, 'i or 'i, *t*, *š*<sup>3</sup>, which were combined in various ways to make *notae accusativi* or quasi-verbs = "to be".<sup>2</sup>

While it is impossible of course to unwind with certainty the tangled skein of phonetic and analogical changes that the various forms of ܠܝܣ and ܠܝܣܐ present, the following suggestions may help to throw some light on the matter.<sup>3</sup>

Originally the demonstrative particles *iā* and 'i were combined with both *t* and *š*, viz., *iā-t*, *iā-š*, 'i-*t*, 'i-*š*, all used in a general demonstrative sense.<sup>4</sup> When these particles stood before pro-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Professor Haupt's note on pp. 50, 51 of Müller and Kautzsch, *The Book of Proverbs* (= SBOT, 15), Leipzig, 1901; and Brockelmann, *Grundriss d. vergl. Gram. d. semitischen Sprachen*, vol. i, p. 235 *ø*.

<sup>2</sup> In Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 95, this explanation is given for the various accusative particles, but not for ܠܝܣ.

<sup>3</sup> For some examples of the workings of analogy in the case of pronouns, cf. my *Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar*, JAOS, vol. xxvii, 1906, pp. 337—396 *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> In South Semitic 'i and 'iā are combined to make similar demonstrative words, viz., Arabic ܠܝܣܐ (*iijā* < 'i-*iā*), Ethiopic ኢያ (ki*iā* from 'i-*iā*)

The form \**iaš* is found in the Assyrian oblique cases of the personal pronouns, viz., *iaši*, etc., under the same conditions as *iât*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, p. 95.



The form \**it* occurs in Aramaic ܐܝܬܐ, ܐܝܬܐ (perhaps also in Punic *yth*), the long *i* being retained in the forms ending in a consonant before nouns, after the analogy of the forms with suffixes, e. g., ܐܝܬܐ etc., as in the case of ܐܝܬܐ above.

The form \**is* has apparently been preserved in Hebrew שׂא (II Sam. 14, 19; Mi. 6, 10; Prov. 18, 24) used in the same sense as שׂא, tho why the vowel is not shortened in the closed syllable is not clear.<sup>1</sup>

In the second series of forms with short vowels, \**iat*, \**ias* have apparently not been preserved. The form \**it* is found in Hebrew ܐܝܬܐ (*i* being changed to *ē* under the influence of the accent). The form \**is* is perhaps to be found in Syriac ܐܝܬܐ, ܐܝܬܐ, pl. ܐܝܬܐ 'matter, thing', and in Arabic ܐܝܬܐ (أَسْ, إَسْ) 'foundation, basis' (but cf. Ass. *uššû*),<sup>2</sup> possibly also in Assyrian *išu* (see below).

In the series of analogical forms, \**āš*, \**at*, \**aš*,<sup>3</sup> *ūt*, *is* apparently do not occur. The form \**āt* is represented by Hebrew ܐܝܬܐ which is used only with pronominal suffix, the long vowel (*ō* for original *ā*) thus always standing in an open syllable.<sup>4</sup> The form \**ūt* occurs perhaps in Arabic ܐܝܬܐ 'would that' (*laīta* < *lā-ūt-a*; *la* = verily, *ūt* 'that', *a* adverbial ending).<sup>5</sup> The form \**is* is found in Hebrew שׂא (< *is*), Arabic ܐܝܬܐ (*laīsa*

<sup>1</sup> It is not impossible that Heb. שׂא 'man', which has no etymology, is ultimately derived from this demonstrative form. Egypt. *z* (formerly read *s*) 'man' is identified by Prof. Sethe (so Dr. Ember informs me) with the demonstratives, Arab. ܐܝܬܐ, Heb. ܐܝܬܐ, etc.; on the other hand Lithuanian *pats* originally 'lord, husband' means now 'he himself'. So it would seem not beyond the bounds of possibility that a word meaning 'that one' used by wives of their husbands should come to have the meaning of 'husband, man'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxonii, 1868—1901, vol. i, p. 403, col. 1; and Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, vol. i, p. 56, cols. 1 and 2.

<sup>3</sup> If it were not for the fact that many Arabic words have forms with all three vowels *a*, *i*, *u* without difference of meaning ܐܝܬܐ might be regarded as derived from the form \**aš*.

<sup>4</sup> The Hebrew ܐܝܬܐ. Syriac ܐܝܬܐ 'sign' are perhaps ultimately identical with the particle ܐܝܬܐ.

<sup>5</sup> Contrast Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, p. 137 c.

< *lā-ūš-a*; *lā* 'not', *ūš* 'that', a verbal ending),<sup>1</sup> and probably also in Assyrian *išu* (< *ūšu*) stem of the verb *išû*.

Where the Phœnician *nota accusativi* אִית is to be placed is not clear. Probably it is the same form as Old Aramaic אִית (i. e., ' *ū-ia t* ).<sup>2</sup> Later Punic *yth* may be a contraction of this form or a representative of the form \**it* (see above). Phœn. אִת without ' may be simply a careless spelling for אִית. Assyrian *attu* used before pronominal suffixes to make emphatic possessive pronouns is also problematical.<sup>3</sup>

### III. The Multiplicative Numerals in Aramaic and Hebrew.

In the Aramaic dialects the multiplicative numerals are expressed by הֶר 'one' followed by the cardinal in the form used with masculine nouns, e. g., הֶר שְׁבַע 'seven-fold'; in Syriac the cardinal may also be preceded by the preposition כ, e. g., כְּ שָׁנַיִם, כְּ שְׁנַיִם 'two fold'.

In these constructions the הֶר before the simple numerals is to be considered a construct state, the expressions meaning 'a two-fold one,' 'a seven-fold one', etc. The expressions may be used adverbially, e. g.,

הֶר שְׁבַע 'seven times' (Dan. 3, 19).

כְּ שָׁנַיִם 'double' (Ex. 22, 7).

כְּ שִׁבְעִים 'seven-fold' (Gen. 4, 24).

or substantively or adjectively, e. g.,

עַל הֶר כְּכַפַּי 'on the basis of a double one, double' (Onkelos, Ex. 22, 3).

כְּ שְׁנַיִם זַמְנָא 'a double break' (Jer. 17, 18).

In Syriac, the construction with כ is apparently later than the one without. The meaning of the original construction here

<sup>1</sup> The form *āis* which occurs as an affirmative of *lāis* in such expressions as *min ḥayth āis wālāis*, *min āis wālāis* 'from where he is or is not', (cf. Lane, *op. cit.*, vol. vii, p. 2685, cols. 1 and 2) is probably some form like 'is or 'is (< 'iš or 'iṣ) changed to 'aīš thru analogy with the diphthong *ai* in *laīsa*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *op. cit.* pp. 23, 95.

is becoming dim, and the force is freshened up by the use of  $\text{—}$ , probably in the sense of 'multiplied by.'

In Hebrew the multiplicatives so far as they are not rendered by a circumlocution with a noun meaning 'time', are ordinarily expressed by a form ending in *-aim*,<sup>1</sup> but in a few passages we have a construction that is exactly the same as the Aramaic idiom just discussed. This is the construct chain  $\text{פִּי שְׁנַיִם}$  'a face of two, two faced, two sided, two-fold' which occurs three times used as a substantive meaning 'a double portion' followed by the preposition  $\text{כִּי}$  used partitively, e. g.,

$\text{וְיִהְיֶה נָא פִּי־שְׁנַיִם בְּרוּחְךָ אֱלֹהִי}$  'let me have a double portion of thy spirit' (II Ki. 2, 9 cf. Dt. 21, 17).

$\text{פִּי שְׁנַיִם בָּהּ יִכָּרְתוּ}$  'a double portion, two parts, of it shall be cut off' (Zech. 13, 8).

#### IV. Mixed Constructions in Hebrew and Aramaic.

A great deal has been written about the modification of separate words and forms resulting from the influence of other words or forms which have some point in common with them, in other words, about analogical changes in the domain of morphology (e. g., Heb.  $\text{אָנֹכִי}$  *ānôkî* for \**ānôku* = Ass. *anâku*, under influence of suffix *-î* 'my', etc.) but little, so far as I know, has been written about changes in construction due to the influence of analogy.

Generally speaking such changes take place when the same idea or similar ideas may be expressed by different constructions. Here in many cases a new construction or constructions may arise consisting of a mixture of the original constructions.

Examples of such mixture in English are, e. g.,

explain it to (mixture of *explain it by* and *ascribe it to*):  
in order not to avoid (mixture of *not to have* and *to avoid*);  
to hear to a thing (mixture of *to hear a thing* and *to listen to a thing*):

put on the same equal (mixture of *put on the same level*,  
*put on an equality*, *make equal*); etc. etc.

The object of the present paper is to point out some examples of a similar character in Hebrew and Aramaic.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my paper, *The dual ending -aim in the Hebrew multiplicative numerals*, *AJSL*, vol. 33, no. 2 (Jan., 1917), pp. 148, 149.

(1)

In Hebrew the ordinal numerals are usually expressed either by the ordinal used as an adjective, or by the cardinal in the genitive after the noun, e. g.,

בִּשְׁנָה הַתְּשִׁיעִית }  
בִּשְׁנַת תִּשְׁעַת } 'in the ninth year'.

It is possible, however, to say also

בִּשְׁנַת הַתְּשִׁיעִית 'in the ninth year' (II Ki. 25, 1; 17, 6).

Here we have a mixture of the two constructions above, the speaker or writer beginning with one and ending with the other. This construction occurs also in Jer. 46, 2; 51, 59; 28, 1 *Kt.* (4<sup>th</sup>): Ezr. 7, 8 (7<sup>th</sup>): Jer. 32, 1 *Kt.* (10<sup>th</sup>).

(2)

In Hebrew after an oath the statement that is emphasized is introduced sometimes by כִּי 'verily', sometimes by אִם 'if'. כִּי is the proper particle for example after חִי יְהוֹה 'as the Lord lives', אִם, the proper particle for example after כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוֹה 'the Lord do so to . . .', e. g.,

חִי יְהוֹה כִּי יֵשֶׁר אָתָּה 'as the Lord liveth, thou art upright' (I Sam. 29, 6; cf. 14, 39).

כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוֹה לְךָ. אִם-תִּכְחֹד מִמֶּנִּי דָבָר 'the Lord do so to thee . . . if thou hide anything from me' (I Sam. 3, 17).

Constructions like חִי יְהוֹה אִם and כִּי כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוֹה לְךָ are due to a mixture of the two constructions above, חִי יְהוֹה and כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוֹה לְךָ having come to be regarded as equivalent expressions, e. g.,

אִם-אֶקַּח "חִי-יְהוֹה" 'as the Lord liveth [= may the Lord punish me] if I take it' (II Ki. 5, 16; cf. II Sam. 11. 11; I Sam. 14, 45).

כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוֹה לִי "כִּי הַמָּוֶת יִפְרֹד בֵּינִי וּבֵינְךָ" 'the Lord do so to me . . . [= I solemnly swear] only death shall part me and thee' (Ru. 1, 17; cf. I Sam. 14, 44; I Ki. 2, 23).

From such sentences as those in the first example אִם develops the meaning of a negative after any oath or asseveration and

its negative אִם-לֹא the force of a strong affirmative.<sup>1</sup> These particles therefore often replace the conjunction אֲשֶׁר or כִּי 'that' after a verb or phrase meaning 'swear', and the preposition מִן after the expression "חֲלִילָהּ ל' 'far be it from . . . to', e. g.,

וְנִכְרַתָּהּ בְּרִית עִמָּךְ אִם-תַּעֲשֶׂה עִמָּנוּ רָעָה 'and let us make a covenant with thee [that] thou wilt not hurt us' (Gen. 26, 28—29; cf. Gen. 14, 23; 21, 23; I Sam. 3, 14; Dt. 1, 34f.; אִם-לֹא Gen. 24, 37;<sup>2</sup> Is. 14, 24).<sup>3</sup>

הָלִילָהּ לִי אִם אֶבְלַע וְאִם אֶשְׂחִית 'far be it from me to swallow up or destroy' (II Sam. 20, 20; cf. Job 27, 5).<sup>4</sup>

## (3)

In Biblical Aramaic the construction—

וּבָעוּ דְנִיָּאל וְחֻבְרֹהֵי לְהִתְקַטֵּל 'and they sought Daniel and his companions to kill them' (Dan. 2, 13)

is apparently the result of a mixture of ideas. The same idea might be expressed by the following constructions, viz.:

לְמַקְטֵל וּבָעוּ ד' "וּח" 'they sought to kill D. and his companions',  
וּבָעוּ ד' "וּח" לְמַקְטֵל הַמּוֹ 'they sought D. and his companions to kill them',

וּבָעִי ד' "וּח" לְהִתְקַטֵּל 'D. and his companions were sought to be killed'.

Now the active plural of a verb is often used in the sense of a passive, so the writer of the passage, after beginning the sentence in the active construction, felt the phrase "וּבָעוּ ד'" as the equivalent of "וּבָעִי ד'" and so finished the sentence according to the passive construction.

<sup>1</sup> From this use is derived the use of these particles as independent adverbs meaning 'not' and 'verily', cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*<sup>2</sup> § 149 e.

<sup>2</sup> Contrast with Gen. 24, 3 where אֲשֶׁר is used after הַשְׁבִּיעַ.

<sup>3</sup> In the last three examples אִם and לֹא are preceded by לְאִמֹר e. g., in the first, וַיִּשְׁבַּע לְאִמֹר אִם. Such cases form a transition category between the other examples and those cases in which the particles are used as independent adverbs in independent clauses, cf. n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> For examples of מִן after "חֲלִילָהּ ל'" cf. Gen. 18, 25; 44, 7; 17; Jos. 24, 16.

(4)

In Biblical Aramaic a final clause may be expressed just as in Hebrew either by ל + infinitive or by ו + finite verb, e. g.,

מִן־שָׁם לָכֶם מַעַם בֵּיתָא דְנָה לְבָנָא 'who commanded you to build this house?' (Ezr. 5, 3).

לָהֵן חֲלֵמָא אֲמַרוּ לִי וְאֲנִדַּע דִּי "therefore tell me the dream that I may know that . . ." Dan. 2, 9).

In three passages we have what seems to be a mixture of the two constructions, e. g.,

וּבִעָא "דִּי זְמַן יִתֵּן־לֵהּ וּפְשָׂרָא לְהַחְוִיָּהּ לְמַלְכָּא 'and he asked that time be given to him that he might make known the interpretation to the king' (Dan. 2, 16).

Here וּפְשָׂרָא לְהַחְוִיָּהּ לְמַלְכָּא is a mixture of

וּפְשָׂרָא לְהַחְוִיָּהּ לְמַלְכָּא and

וּפְשָׂרָא יְהַחְוִיָּהּ לְמַלְכָּא

Cf. also Dan. 2, 18; 5, 15.<sup>1</sup>

The same mixed construction is found in Hebrew, especially in late passages, e. g., וְלָתַת 'in order to give' Ex. 32, 29; וְלִנְדָּלֵם 'in order to educate them' (Dan. 1, 5), etc.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly in Syriac, where ܠ + infinitive and ܐ + finite verb are equivalent final constructions, we find occasionally final clauses in which the verb is in the infinitive after ܠ introduced by the final conjunction ܐ, e. g.,

ܐܢ ܕܢܚܝܕ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܕܢܚܝܕ ܕܢܚܝܕ ܕܢܚܝܕ

'if thou desirest to learn these things with diligence.'

<sup>1</sup> Contrast Torrey, *Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel*, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. xv, July, 1909, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*<sup>2</sup> § 114 p.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar* (transl. by Orichton), London, 1904, § 286.

*The Home of Balaam.\**—By W. F. ALBRIGHT, Johns Hopkins University.

In 1850 Joseph Dérenbourg, in his *Fables de Loqmân le Sage*, following the suggestion of Ewald and Rödiger, identified the pre-Islamic prophet, Loqmân, mentioned in the thirty-first sura of the Qurân, with Balaam.<sup>1</sup> Loqmân seems to be a translation of Balaam, as both Heb. *balâ'* and Arab. *lâqama* mean *to swallow*. Translations of proper names from Hebrew into Arabic are not infrequent; *e. g.* the modern *Tell el-Qâdi* represents the ancient *Dan*. In the same way, the modern name of Megiddo, which means *garrison*, is *Lejjun* = Lat. *legio*.<sup>2</sup> The Mohammedan commentators say that Loqmân belonged to the tribe of 'Ad, and lived at Elath in Midian. Other reports concerning him, *e. g.*, that he was a Nubian freedman, and was born in the tenth year of David's reign,<sup>3</sup> are late inventions.

Nineteen years later Nöldeke<sup>4</sup> came to the conclusion that Balaam ben-Be'or was ultimately identical with Bela' ben-Be'or, recorded as the first king of Edom in the archaic list Gen. 36. Both of these combinations are accepted by Eduard Meyer.<sup>5</sup>

It has been reserved for Professor Haupt, however, in his monograph on *Midian und Sinai*,<sup>6</sup> to set the personality of Balaam in a clearer light. Both Midian and 'Ad seem to denote the Sinaitic Amphictyony, *i. e.* the religious confederation of worshipers of Yahweh, which sprang up around the North-Arabian Sinai in the 13. cent. B. C.<sup>7</sup> From this region came

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\* This article and the two following were first put in type by the printers of this Journal in the summer of 1915. See the Note on page 319.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ency. Brit.*, s. v. *Luqman*, and IN\* 378.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Haupt, MuS in ZDMG 63, 506, l. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Mas'ûdi 1, 110 (*Les prairies d'or*, Paris, 1861).

<sup>4</sup> Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des AT* (1869) p. 87.

<sup>5</sup> IN 376—380.

<sup>6</sup> ZDMG 63, 506—530.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Haupt, *Armageddon*, JAOS 84. 412 ff., n. 12.

the Edomites, and their offshoot, the Jews. The evil reputation of the Midianites of the south, reflected in the OT, is due to northern, Israelitish, memories of the raids which preceded their final settlement in southern Palestine.

The Israelites themselves had entered northern Palestine during the great Khabir-Hebrew migration, some two centuries before. At that time they were idolaters; they were forced by David, about 1000, to embrace Judaism, but after the disruption of the kingdom, c. 930, they relapsed again into idolatry. The Angel of Yahweh, who blocked the way of Balaam,<sup>1</sup> was an ancient Israelitish deity. Subsequent editors have often substituted *Angel of Yahweh* for the names of ancient heathen gods, because, according to the early Judaic conception, foreign gods were angels commissioned by Yahweh to govern the foreign nations.<sup>2</sup>

All scholars agree that we have in the legend of Balaam the remnants of at least two separate stories, reflecting the northern (Ephraimitic) tradition, and the southern (Judaic) version. The northern tradition has, of course, been much modified by Judaic editors. For instance, *Moabites* has been inserted in the place of *Edomites*. The reference to the Amorites at the beginning of Num. 22 seems to be an editorial link, connecting the episode of Balaam with the account of the fight against the Amorites.

Balaam was an ancient Edomite sage. The reading *Aram* in Num. 23, 7 is simply a corruption of *Edom*, a confusion which is common in the OT. The Koranic *Iramu*, or *Aramu*, which, according to the commentators, was situated south-east of Elath, apparently owes its existence to the same misunderstanding. The two passages in Num. 22, 5, and Deut. 23, 5, where the alleged Aramean home of Balaam is more definitely located at Pethor, represent late glosses.

This localization may perhaps be due to a popular etymology of Pethor, connecting it with Heb. פֶּתֶרֶן. *interpretation of dreams*,<sup>3</sup> which exhibits a פ in Hebrew, while in Assyrian and Aramaic we have a ש (*pašāru*, פִּשָּׂר). Instead of the place-name ש gives in Num. 22, 5 פִּשְׁרָא. *hariolus*, whereas in Deut.

<sup>1</sup> It may be interesting to note in this connection that Arab. *lāqama* has also the meaning to block the way.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Haupt, *Armageddon*, n. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Haupt, *Proverbs* (SBOT), p. 51, l. 14.



23, 5 פִּתְרוֹר has פִּתְרוֹר. In the latter passage 6 omits the name altogether. So it would seem that in Deut. 23, 5 the פִּתְרוֹר of the Hebrew is a post-Septuagintal gloss, based upon the passage in Num. In connection with פִּשְׁוֹרָה it may be noted that the Arabic translation from 6 published by Lagarde,<sup>1</sup> expands to العَرَّافُ المَعْبَرُ للأحلام, the *diviner, the interpreter of dreams*.

פִּתְרוֹר has long been identified with the Assyrian *Pitru*. If this be correct, we should vocalize פִּתְרוֹר, the ו being due simply to dittography of the ר as is so often the case.<sup>2</sup> This disposes of the objections which are frequently raised to this view.<sup>3</sup> The dittography of the ר may have been favored by the presence of the ו in צַפּוֹר and בְּעוֹר immediately before.

*Pitr* is mentioned by Shalmaneser III (860—825),<sup>5</sup> who informs us that it was situated at the confluence of the Euphrates and the Sâjûr, in the district of *Bît-Adin*. Tho its site has not yet been examined, *Pitr* seems to have been a place of some antiquity. Shalmaneser states that it had been conquered by the Arameans in the reign of Ašûr-irbi (c. 1000). On the great list of Thutmosis III (c. 1500) No. 280, *Pdrw*, is doubtless *Pitru*.<sup>6</sup>

*Bît-Adin* is, of course, the Hebrew בֵּית-עֵדֶן.<sup>7</sup> The district seems to be mentioned again by Tiglathpileser IV (746—727)<sup>8</sup> and, still later, Ezekiel mentions it as עֵדֶן, which corresponds to the 'tn of the Egyptian monuments.<sup>9</sup> Thanks to the data furnished by the Assyrians, its geography is relatively well-known.<sup>10</sup>

The site of Til-Barsip, the capital of Beth-Eden, was discovered by Campbell-Thompson in 1911 at the mound of *Tell el-Ahmar*, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, almost

<sup>1</sup> Lagarde, *Materialien zur Kritik und Geschichte des Pentateuchs* (Leipzig, 1867) I, 171.

<sup>2</sup> MuS 515, n. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Haupt, JBL 32, p. 161, n. 4, and p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit* (Göttingen, 1913) p. 320, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Obelisk 1, 38 ff. (KB 1, 133).

<sup>6</sup> Max Müller, AE p. 267.

<sup>7</sup> בֵּית-עֵדֶן means *House of Delight*, characterizing the beauty of the country. The same name is applied to the *ager Damascenus*; see Haupt, OLZ 10, 306.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Schiffer, *Keilinschriftliche Spuren* (Beiheft zu OLZ 10) p. 27.

<sup>9</sup> AE 281, 291.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Delitzsch, BA 6, 1, 22, and Schiffer, *op. cit.* p. 26.

directly opposite the mouth of the Sâjûr. The identification of the site is rendered certain by an inscription of Shalmaneser's discovered there.<sup>1</sup>

If we bear in mind that the cuneiform equivalent of פתור, or rather, פֶּתֶר, was situated in the district of בֵּית-עֶרֶן, the *cruz* at the conclusion of the gloss in Num. 22. 5 becomes clear. Instead of פֶּתֶרָה אֲשֶׁר עַל הַנָּהָר אֶרֶץ בְּנֵי-עַמּוֹ = *to Pethor, which is on the river of (?) the land of the children of his people*, we must evidently read, פֶּתֶרָה אֲשֶׁר עַל הַנָּהָר בְּאֶרֶץ בְּנֵי-עֶדֶן = *to Pitr, which is on the Euphrates, in the land of Beth-Eden*. The only change of any consequence is the substitution of a פ for the מ, and in the cursive script which we find on the papyri of the 5. cent. B. C. these letters are often much alike.<sup>2</sup>

The Hebrew idiom for *inhabitants of Beth-Eden* is not בְּנֵי עֶדֶן, but simply בְּנֵי עֶרֶן. Similarly, Assyrian *mâr Agusi* is equivalent to *ša bît Agusi*.<sup>3</sup>

It is true that פֶּתֶרָה read here בְּנֵי עַמּוֹ and that this reading has been adopted by the majority of expositors. If this were correct, we should have a fifth home of Balaam, representing a fifth theory, according to which he was not an Edomite, or a Midianite, or an Amorite, or an Aramean, but an Ammonite. However, the term הַנָּהָר cannot be applied to one of the insignificant wadies of Ammon. The reading עַמּוֹ is obviously a conjectural emendation, on the part of the translators, of the unintelligible עַמּוֹ.

Our gloss may date from the 5. cent., or may even be later. The fragments of the *Romance of Akhîqar*, found at Elephantine, bear witness to the respect entertained for Mesopotamian sages by the Jews of the 5. century.<sup>4</sup> In passing, it is interesting to observe the striking resemblance between the magical rites ascribed to Balaam and Mesopotamian practises, as has been pointed out by Daiches.<sup>5</sup>

As stated above, Balaam was an ancient Edomite sage, and the Israelites whom he was called upon to curse were idolaters.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. PSBA 34, 66 (1912). For sketch-map see PSBA 33, facing p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch<sup>28</sup>, *Schrifttafel*, col. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ungnad, OLZ 9, 224.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine*, pp. xxi ff. Cf. also Halévy, *Revue Sémitique* 20, 153 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Assyriologische Studien H. V. Hilprecht gewidmet* (Leipzig, 1909) pp. 60 ff.

In the same way, as Professor Haupt has shown, the Israelitish hero, Gideon,<sup>1</sup> was an idolater, whereas the Midianites whom he defeated were worshipers of Yahweh. The present form of the old Israelitish traditions, which we find in the OT, has been worked over by Judaic editors, just as the traditions of South Arabia were conformed to Mohammedan standards.

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<sup>1</sup> Circa 1100 B. c.; see IN 381.

\* Note the following abbreviations: AE = Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*; AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*; BA = *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*; IN = E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*; JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; KB = *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*; MuS = *Midian und Sinai*; PSBA = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*; SBOT = *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*; ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

*The Conclusion of Esarhaddon's Broken Prism.*—By W. F. ALBRIGHT, Johns Hopkins University.

Eduard Meyer, in the first edition of his *Geschichte des Altertums*, which is now appearing in a French translation, calls Esarhaddon the most sympathetic figure in Assyrian history.<sup>1</sup> He gave the impetus to the literary and archæological research which was the glory of his son's reign. This new interest in the past brought with it imitation of ancient models, and archaistic tendencies in literature. In the royal inscriptions we find old geographical names substituted for the current nomenclature. Melid, or Kummukh, appears as Khanigalbat; Muçr and Kûs become Magan and Melukha. In his conquest of Egypt Esarhaddon may well have been emulating the example set by Narâm-Sîn of Akkad, more than two millenniums before.

Leading Assyriologists have often doubted this fact, but Professor Haupt has shown that these two names, Magan and Melukha, actually denote Egypt and Ethiopia. Magan means *Land of the Ship-barrier*, referring to the first cataract, which formerly blocked navigation between Egypt and Nubia, whereas Melukha is the Sumerian equivalent of the modern Sûdân, the *Country of the Blacks*, literally, *Land of Black Servants*.<sup>2</sup>

One of Esarhaddon's most interesting inscriptions is the so-called Broken Prism, which describes the events attending his accession. This familiar designation is now hardly appropriate, since Meissner<sup>3</sup> has shown that the text is virtually complete, thanks to the numerous fragments from various sources which have come to light during the past few years. The most important part of the text has been republished by Delitzsch, AL<sup>5</sup>, p. 79, with the addition of seven new lines from VA 3458.

Meissner discusses these lines briefly, and gives some renderings. Lines 26—27, *idâ'a ittanaszarû tebû arki'a kalûmiš idâkakû uçallû bêlûti*, he translates: *Sie traten auf meine Seite*

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<sup>1</sup> E. Meyer, GA<sup>1</sup> \*p. 474.

<sup>2</sup> OLZ 16, 488 ff. Cf. Haupt, *Die altbabylonische Invasion Aegyptens*, OLZ 17, 342, and *Sumerian me older than ge*, OLZ 17, 454.

<sup>3</sup> OLZ 17, 344 ff.

*indem sie aufstanden und hinter mir her wie junge Lämmer weideten<sup>1</sup> und um Herrschaft baten. Prof. Haupt renders, They followed me like lambkins, subdued, and entreating my lordship.*

In l. 30 occurs the word *xamma'ê*, which has been rendered *bandits*, or *villains*. Weidner,<sup>2</sup> however, presents a cuneiform vocabulary, in which *LUGAL-IM-GI* is equated with *šar za-am-mi-e*, and explained by *šarru ša ana emûkišu ittákalu*, i. e., *a king who trusts in his own power*, in contradistinction to one who relies upon the gods and is supported by them. *Xammû*, accordingly, is the equivalent of our *usurper*. The word may possibly be connected with حوى *to take possession of, seize, usurp*.<sup>3</sup>

In l. 32 it is stated that the usurpers fled to *KUR-NU-ZU*. This is naturally not a geographical name *Nuzu*, with the prefixed determinative for country, but the Sumerian phrase for *unknown land*, like *MU-NU-ZU*, unknown year,<sup>4</sup> and *KUR-NU-GI*, the Land of No-return.<sup>5</sup> From Meissner's article it appears that he had reached the same conclusion, but he reads *mât lâ idû*, instead of *mât lâ uddî*, which is preferable, according to Prof. Haupt, on the basis of the parallel phrase *ašar lâ uddî*,<sup>6</sup> recorded in Delitzsch's HW.

I subjoin a revised translation of Esarhaddon's Broken Prism, as published in AL<sup>5</sup>, 79, based upon the interpretation given in the Assyrian Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University during the session 1914—15. So far as I know, a translation of the last paragraph, from the new Berlin text, has not been published.

Our passage places us in a very dramatic situation. Esarhaddon has just received word of his father's death and his brother's rebellion. Thereupon the king says:—

<sup>1</sup> Meissner reads *i-tak-ka-lu* for *i-dak-ka-ku*, but admits that his reading is doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> OLZ 17, 501. Cf. Zimmern; ZA 25, 199 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For Arab. ح = Assy. *x* cf. حش, *forest* = *xuršu*, mountain; حفر = *xapâru*; حکم = *xakâmu*. On the other hand Assy. *îcu* (for *hîcu*) corresponds to خاص يكيص (OLZ 16, 494). For و = Assy. *m*. see ZA 2, 273.

<sup>4</sup> Babylonian Chronicle III, 16.

<sup>5</sup> According to CT 15, 43, a, Im-dugud (Zû) nests in a *KUR-NU-ZU*, in this case Mt. Kašur.

<sup>6</sup> II R 48, rev. col. II, 45. The reference in HW 305<sup>b</sup> is incorrect.

Like a lion I raged; my liver cried out. To assume the sovereignty of my father's house, to invest<sup>1</sup> myself with the priesthood, I raised my hands to the gods, Asur, Sin, Samas, Bel, Nebo, Nergal, Istar of Nineveh, Istar of Arbela, and they acceded to my request. In their unwavering favor they sent a trustworthy oracle, saying, Go, tarry not! We shall march at thy side and slay thy foes.

Not for a single day did I wait; the van of my army I did not review; the rear I did not inspect;<sup>2</sup> my chariot-horses I did not prepare; provision for my journey I did not store up. The snow and cold of the month of Shebat, the severity of the frost, I did not fear. Like the fleet swallow<sup>3</sup> I spread out my arms to overwhelm my foe. The road to Nineveh, difficult as it was, I swiftly traversed.

Before me, in the land of Khanigalbat, their whole army engaged the van of my force, seeking a decision of arms. The fear of the great gods, my lords, overthrew them; when they saw the advance of my mighty attack, panic seized them. Istar, mistress of the battle-charge, who loves my priesthood, stood by my side and shattered their bows; their serried line she pierced.

In a body they said, This is our king! By her exalted command they came over to my side, and followed me like lambskins, subdued, and entreating my lordship. The people of Assyria, who had sworn oaths by the great gods against me, came into my presence and kissed my feet. But when the usurpers, who had made insurrection and conspiracy, heard of the coming of my expeditionary force, they forsook the troops of their army, and fled to an unknown land.

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<sup>1</sup> *Nipisa*, acc. to Prof. Haupt, may be connected with *nabasu*, red wool, so that it would mean primarily to invest with the scarlet robe. Cf. our purple = cardinalate. For the form of the inf. see Delitzsch AG<sup>2</sup> p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> *Ugnad*, in Gressmann's *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder* (Tübingen, 1909) p. 122, still renders, *Ich schaute nicht zurück*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sisinnu*, i. e. *sisinu* = *sisenu* = *sisānu*, is connected with *ṢṢ* but it is doubtful whether the two are identical. As the comparison may rest upon the fleetness of the bird, the rendering *swallow* (cf. our *swift*) is possible.

\* Note following abbreviations: AG = Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*; GA = *Geschichte des Altertums*; HW = Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*; OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.

*Some Unexplained Cuneiform Words.*—By W. F. ALBRIGHT,  
Johns Hopkins University.

In a letter from Amenophis III to Kadašman-Kharbe of Babylon occurs the word *kamir*, used twice as the name of some functionary.<sup>1</sup> Bezold<sup>2</sup> compared *kamir* with Syr. כֹּמֶר, and rendered *sage, sorcerer*. Peiser suggested that *kamir* meant *eunuch*, and his explanation is duly recorded in Muss-Arnolt's *Assyrian Dictionary*, but seems to have escaped the attention of Knudtzon and his co-workers. As the *kamir* is expected to establish the identity of a Babylonian princess in the Egyptian harem, he must have been a harem-attaché, so the translation *eunuch* seems reasonable.

In Arabic *kámara* means *to be virile*, which is illustrated by the native lexicographers in a number of ways. The *fem. pass. part.* مكورة denotes *a woman who has had carnal knowledge of man*, or as the *Lisân el 'Arab* states امرأة منكورة i. e. *mulier virum experta*. As Professor Haupt has shown in his paper *Assyrian ramku* = כַּמְר, *priest*,<sup>3</sup> the cuneiform *kamir*, or rather, *kamîr*, is a *mas. pass. part.*, used in a privative sense, *unmanned, emasculated, eunuch*.<sup>4</sup>

In a letter from the Mitannian king, Tušratta, to Amenophis III, occurs the verbal form *utte'izzi*,<sup>5</sup> which Knudtzon makes no attempt to explain. The context reads, *u ša axi'a irišu uktellimši ana Mane u itámarši kî imurši u utte'izzi danneš* = *And her whom my brother desired I showed to Mane, and he examined her. When he had seen her, he utte'izzi greatly*. The correspondence in form between *uktellimši* and *utte'izzi* is

<sup>1</sup> EA\* 1, 15, 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Oriental Diplomacy* (London, 1893) p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> AJSL 32, part one.

<sup>4</sup> For a similar privative see Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 103, on خصية, testicle, and خصي, castrate.

<sup>5</sup> EA 19, 22.

obvious. *Utte'izzi* is simply the Pi'el reflexive of *na'ādu*, to be exalted, the Ethiopic *né'da*, which is also connected with נָאָדָא. *skin-bottle*, properly, *inflated*, the Ass. *nādu*. Professor Haupt also proposes to read וְיִרְדְּוּ instead of וְיִרְדְּוּ Ex. 15, 2, in Moses' Song of Triumph.<sup>1</sup>

The correct Babylonian form would be *uttā'idši*, tho it has not been found elsewhere yet. *Uttē'izzi* must be rendered in an active sense, *he praised her*, like *uktellimši* and *uktebbidūši*, they honored her,<sup>2</sup> etc.

The phonetic change from *dš* to *zz* is not uncommon in the early period, tho it does not seem to occur after the Amarna age. Yet it has hardly received the attention it merits; Delitzsch does not record it, nor does Böhl, in his valuable treatise, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe* (Leipzig 1909). Ebeling, however, in his monograph, *Das Verbum der El-Amarna-Briefe* (BA 8, 2), considers it,<sup>3</sup> but he mentions only one instance, *ukappazzu*,<sup>4</sup> from *kabādu*. Several similar forms from the same root are found in the letters.<sup>5</sup> In the Syrian correspondence the name of Qadeš on the Orontes, the scene of the famous battle between Rameses the Great and the Hittite monarch, Khattusil, is written *Qidši*, *Kinza*, and *Gizza*, etc.<sup>6</sup> In Old-Babylonian we have, e. g., *ipkizzu* for *ipqidšu*, he charged him,<sup>7</sup> *ušērizi*, for *ušēridši*,<sup>8</sup> etc. *Tš* = *zz* in *irazzu*, for *iratšu*, his breast.<sup>9</sup>

In the latter instance *z* may be purely graphical for *s*; on the other hand this cannot be true in such forms as *lišānzu* and *šulmānzu*, or *Kinza*. Nor is it likely that this is a case like Syriac *š* for Persian *j* (*dš*).<sup>10</sup> Apparently we have here a reciprocal assimilation.

Our passage may now be fully explained. The Egyptian special envoy, Mane, has been sent north to examine a Mitan-

<sup>1</sup> AJSL 20, 170, n. 58.

<sup>2</sup> EA 23, 21.

<sup>3</sup> BA 8, 2, 43, l. 16 (1910).

<sup>4</sup> EA 29, 31.

<sup>5</sup> Especially in 23 and 29.

<sup>6</sup> EA p. 1119.

<sup>7</sup> Ungnad, VB 6, 238, 24. Cf. Schorr, VB 5, p. 544, s. v. *paqādu*.

<sup>8</sup> Ungnad, *loc. cit.*, 159, 15.

<sup>9</sup> Ungnad, *loc. cit.*, 238, 48. Cf. CT XV, 3, l. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Bickell, *Kalilag wa Damag*, p. LXXIV.



nian princess, who has been considered a possible bride for his royal master. Her father now writes to Amenophis, informing him that Mane has been favorably impressed with the maiden, has, in fact, praised her highly. Tušratta says: *And I showed her whom my brother desired to Mane, and he examined her. When he had seen her, he praised her highly.* The king takes advantage of this to point out that so charming a bride deserves a rich bridal gift in return. At that time the Mitannian Empire was struggling hard to maintain itself against the foes who eventually dismembered it, and Tušratta was chronically in need of funds.

Toward the end of the same letter Tušratta asks for gold with which to construct the *karašk* of his great-grandfather (Artatama).<sup>1</sup> Winckler<sup>2</sup> rendered *Feldzeug*, which he apparently used in the sense of *accoutrement*,<sup>3</sup> and translated the passage *karaška ša aba abi'a eppuš*, Dein Feldzeug, welches mein Grossvater gefertigt hat. As the word is written *karaški* in l. 58, a derivation from *karāšu* is quite impossible, aside from the extraordinary meaning which this would yield. Then, also, *eppuš* is clearly *present*, so Knudtzon translates correctly, *Ich werde das karašk meines Grossvaters machen.*

Now, when Burnaburiaš of Babylon is in need of gold, he expatiates on the work of building and repairing temples in which he is engaged, and protests that after that is completed he will require no more.<sup>4</sup> As the *karašk* is also a construction of some sort, the rendering *mausoleum*<sup>5</sup> suggests itself. In building a mausoleum for his grandfather Artatama, Tušratta was following a widespread Anatolian custom.

Apart from the foreign words and forms in the Amarna despatches there are a good many Assyrian terms, even in the familiar religious literature, which still await explanation. In the *Šurpu*-series occurs the line *mamit ina qarçari mê šatû*, A spell incurred by drinking water from a

<sup>1</sup> EA 19, 44, 58.

<sup>2</sup> KB 5, 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Oriental Diplomacy*, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> EA 7, 63; 9, 15; 11, 30.

<sup>5</sup> The Assyrian word for *mausoleum* seems to be *kimazzu*, which according to Jensen, is identical with the doubtful Syriac word ܟܡܪܐ (Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, s. v.). HW renders *Sarg*, but this word is

*çarçar*.<sup>1</sup> Also BA 2, 628, col. III, 2—5, *mê çarçari tasiqışunu*  
*karpūt masītu ša BAR mê çarçari tumtalli tattanāšunu* = Thou  
 shalt give them water of the *çarçar* to drink. A *masītu* vessel  
 of . . . shalt thou fill with water of the *çarçar* and give them.  
 II R 5, 17 *çarçar* occurs as the name of a bird. In the Talmud  
 צרצור denotes a bird distinguished by showy plumage. Arabic  
 صرصر means *cock*, and Heb. צרצר is translated ἀλέκτωρ in G.

*Çarçar* in the above-cited passages may mean *water-cock*, used  
 perhaps by metonymy for *water-spout*, in general, just as in  
 English. In German *Hahn* is the common word for *faucet*,  
 and this usage may be traced to the fifteenth century. In  
 English the expressions *cock of a spigot* and *cock of a gun* are  
 met with at almost as early a date.

In view of the sacral nature of ancient fountains, it is easy  
 to see how drinking directly from the spout should have been  
 taboo. Besides, experience may have taught the Babylonian  
 priests that this practise involved the danger of contamination  
 and infection. In the second passage cited *mê çarçari* clearly  
 means *water from the çarçar*, which may have been selected  
 because of its purity, tho it is quite possible that there were  
 specially consecrated faucets for liturgical use.<sup>4</sup>

Talmudic צרצור is also a name applied to a vessel with a  
 comb-like attachment, used for sprinkling. In *Kelim* 2, 8 this  
 comb is called המסרק של צרצור. According to Krauss,<sup>5</sup> "On  
 the wine-flask, or צרצור, was placed a perforated cover, which  
 was called a comb, from the shape of the handle. The cover  
 was presumably perforated in order that spiced wine might be  
 poured out without opening the flask, thus preventing the loss  
 of the fragrance. The teeth of the comb apparently slipped  
 over the cover in such a way as to close it completely."

evidently a Sumerian compound of *KI* and *MAX*. (Cf. *KI-GAL*, Hades.)  
 For Assyrian royal mausolea cf. Boissier OLZ 18, 4.

<sup>1</sup> *Surpu* 3, 58 = Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Tiernamen mit Reduplikation* (*Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, pp. 107 ff.), p. 111. Nöldeke does not discuss צרצר as a birdname at all.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Peters, JBL 1914, 155.

<sup>4</sup> Similar water-cocks are mentioned in the Mišna under the name of צרצור nipple. See Yôma, 3, 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Talmudische Archäologie*, vol. II (1911), p. 281.

Of course Assyr. *ṣarṣar* cannot be identical with **צַרְצָרָא**. *wine-flask*, as the determinative for *vessel* is lacking in both passages. Moreover, the Assyrian object holds, or carries, water, not wine. Both seem to derive their name from the comb, crest, or handle, which surmounted them.<sup>1</sup>

The vocabulary of the Babylonian Talmud has shed a flood of light on Assyrian lexicography. Assyriology, on the other hand, can explain a good many obscurities in the Talmud, but both must be used with caution.

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<sup>1</sup> Since this article was written, three years ago, I have been studying the question of lustratory arrangements in a Babylonian temple, and have found additional evidence for the above view.

\* Note the following abbreviations: CT = *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*; EA = Knudtzon-Weber-Ebeling, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln* (VB 2); VB = *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*. For other abbreviations see the list at the close of *The Home of Balaam*.

# PROCEEDINGS

## OF THE

# AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AT ITS  
MEETING IN NEW YORK, N. Y.

1915

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The annual meeting of the Society, being the hundred twenty-seventh occasion of its assembling, was held in New York on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Easter Week, April 8th, 9th, and 10th, 1915.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Abbott	Dennis, J. T.	Hume, R. E.	Quackenbos
Albright	Dickins, Mrs.	Hussey, Miss	Rudolph, Miss
Banning	Edgerton	Jackson	Saunders, Mrs.
Barret	Edwards, Mrs.	Jackson, Mrs.	Sherman
Barton	Ember	Jastrow	Scheltema
Bates, Mrs.	Fagnani	Kent, R. G.	Schoff
Bendann, Miss	Ferguson, J. C.	Kyle	Scott
Bender	Gellot	Lyman	Smith, H. P.
Bewer	Gottheil	Margolis	Steele
Bloomfield	Grant	Moore, B. B.	Torrey
Breasted	Grieve, Miss	Müller	Vanderburgh
Brown, F.	Haas	Nies, J. B.	Ward, W. H.
Campbell	Haupt	Oefeke	Westermayr
Chung-huei	Hirth	Ogden, C. J.	Williams, F. W.
Clay	Hitti	Peters	Williams, T.
Cunningham	Hopkins	Prince	Yohannan

TOTAL: 64.

The first session was held in the Library of Columbia University, in Room 307, beginning at 3:15 p. m., the President, Professor Jastrow, being in the chair.

The Recording Secretary, Dr. George C. O. Haas, read in abstract the proceedings of the meeting in Boston and Cambridge, Mass., April 16th and 17th, 1914. [These have since been printed in the *Journal*, vol. 34, p. 435-444.]

The Committee of Arrangements presented its report, thru Professor Gottheil, in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Friday morning at half past nine, Friday afternoon at half past two, and Saturday morning at half past nine. It was announced that there would be an informal meeting of the members on Thursday evening in University Hall; that the members of the Society were invited to be the guests of the local members at luncheon on Friday at a quarter past one in University Hall; that the session on Friday afternoon would be devoted to papers dealing with the historical study of religion and to those of a more general character; and that the annual subscription dinner would take place on Friday at half past seven at the Hotel Marseilles.

#### REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, presented the following report:

During the past year the correspondence of the Society has been of the same character and has been conducted along the same general lines as heretofore. Letters of acceptance have been received from the newly elected members, and there have been, as in the past, communications from various organizations and from scholars and investigators in the Orient.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science invited our Society to join with other learned bodies in holding a meeting in August, 1915, in California in connection with the Panama-Pacific Exposition; this agreeable invitation had to be declined because the annual meeting had already been set for April 8-10, in New York, and a second meeting was deemed impracticable. Letters were received also from the Asiatic Institute and from the Japanese Association of New York.

Among the communications from Oriental scholars in Asia, two from Persia deserve special mention. One of these was from a fellow member, Mr. Benjamin Burges Moore, depicting the conditions in that country as he found them on a journey from Mashhad to Teheran and down to the Persian Gulf; an account of his travels will shortly be published in a volume now in course of preparation. The other came from Col. J. N. Merrill, of the Persian Army of Fars, who is stationed at Shiraz, where

Mr. Moore met him. Col. Merrill sent photographs and descriptions of some of the less-known archeological remains around Pasargadae and Persepolis, with a mention also of the more familiar ones.

It is the sad duty of the Secretary to record that the Society has suffered a markt loss, during the past year, thru the death of several valued members.

Rev. SAMUEL HENRY BISHOP, D. D., recently General Agent of the American Church Institute for Negroes, died in New York City, June 13, 1915. He had been a member since 1898, and attended the meetings in New York.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, Ph. D., LL. D., Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Chicago, and author of many books on Assyrian and Babylonian literature, died in London, August 6, 1914. A member of the Society since 1886 and for many years one of the Directors, he took a deep interest at all times in projects looking to the advancement of Oriental studies in this country and abroad, and his publications contain a valuable store of material for scholarly investigation in his special line.

CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON, M. D., Ph. D., LL. D., Professor of Oriental History and Archeology in Johns Hopkins University, died in Baltimore, June 26, 1914. Professor Johnston, who became a member of the Society in 1889, devoted himself specially to Assyriology and was generally recognized as an able and thoro' worker in that field.

WINFRED ROBERT MARTIN, Ph. D., LL. D., recently Librarian of the Hispanic Society of America, died February 21, 1915, in New York. Dr. Martin, who was a man of wide knowledge and varied attainments, was for some years Professor of Oriental Languages at Trinity College. He joined the Society in 1889.

WILLIAM W. ROCKHILL, the distinguisht American diplomat, who had been a member of the Society since 1880, died in Honolulu, Hawaii, December 8, 1914. His diplomatic and public career is so well known as to require no mention here. He made important studies in rural Chinese; traveled twice in Tibet, visiting Lhasa in 1892 at the invitation of the Dalai Lama and later publishing the results of his explorations; and was interested as well in the history of the Ottoman Empire.

In presenting this report the Corresponding Secretary begs leave to resign from the office, which it has been an honor and a privilege to hold since 1908. The ever-growing duties of the office, together with pressing obligations in other official lines, compel him, to his profound regret, to withdraw. These feelings of regret are the greater because he has had, during these years of service, the fullest measure of co-operation from those associated with him in the work of the Society. To all these co-workers, among whom the present Recording Secretary, Dr. George C. O. Haas, is deserving of special mention, he wishes to express once again his hearty appreciation and gratitude.

The President exprest the general appreciation of Professor Jackson's faithful service and thankt him in the name of the Society for his efforts in its behalf. Tribute was then paid to several of the deceased members, Professor Hirth speaking of Mr. Rockhill, Professor Gottheil of Professor Harper, Professor

Haupt of Professor Johnston, and Professor F. W. Williams of Dr. Martin.

#### REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer, Professor F. W. Williams, presented the following report:

##### RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY THE TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1914.

###### *Receipts*

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1913 .....		\$ 511.99
Annual dues .....	\$1135.15	
Life membership .....	75.00	
Sales of the Journal .....	286.35	
Contribution for the Library .....	200.00	
Coupons from bonds .....	150.00	1846.50
		<hr/>
		\$2358.49

###### *Expenditures*

Sundry printing and addressing .....	\$ 58.05	
Lantern, Boston meeting .....	2.00	
Editor's honorarium .....	200.00	
Cataloguing and clerical assistance .....	493.56	
Postage of the Treasurer (2 years) .....	25.00	
Deposit in Savings Bank .....	200.00	978.61
		<hr/>
Balance to new account .....		1379.88
		<hr/>
		\$2358.49

###### STATEMENT

	1913	1914
Bradley Type Fund (N. H. Savings Bank) .....	\$3337.95	\$3503.11
Cotheal Fund (Prov. Inst. for Savings) .....	1436.12	1494.12
N. H. National Savings Bank deposit .....	234.61	448.07
2 Ch., R. I. & Pacific Ry. bonds .....	1780.00	1200.00
1 Virginian Railway Company bond .....	1000.00	980.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$7788.68	\$7625.30

#### REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The report of the Auditing Committee was presented with the Treasurer's report, as follows:

I hereby certify that I have examined the account book of the Treasurer of the Society and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. I have also examined the securities and compared the entries in the cash book with the vouchers and bank and pass books, and have found all correct.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., March 19, 1915.

CHARLES C. TORREY, *Auditor.*

## REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The Librarian, Professor Albert T. Clay, presented the following report:

The books of the Library have now been arranged on the shelves in accordance with the new scheme of classification mentioned in the previous report, and considerable progress has been made in the preparation of the card catalog. It was the intention to publish the catalog of the serials and periodicals this year in the *Journal* as the first instalment of a catalog of the entire Library, which is designed for the use of members of the Society; but, although the card catalog of this part of the Library has been completed, the copy has not been prepared for the press owing to the fact that the librarian of the Yale Library staff who had charge of this work was called to a library in the West.

The card catalog now includes about one-sixth of the books in the Library. It is our purpose to push this work, and every effort will be made to complete it during the coming year. If the Editors can spare sufficient space, the entire catalog will be printed in one issue of the *Journal*. If not, it will appear in sections, and reprints of the complete catalog will be prepared and supplied to members. This printed catalog will be as brief as is practicable. It has been necessary during the year to purchase a cabinet for the card catalog. About one hundred books have been bound, and it is highly important that others be sent to the binders at once.

It seems proper in this connection to mention that it has been possible to carry on the work of reorganizing the Library through the generosity of one of our members, Professor Jewett, who added liberally to the appropriation made by the Directors.

## REPORT OF THE EDITORS.

The report of the Editors of the *Journal*, Professors Oertel and Torrey, was presented by Professor Torrey, as follows:

The publication of volume 34 (1914) of the *Journal* has been greatly hindered by the war. In July 1914 the printers had in their hands all the manuscript for this volume and enough in addition to make up half of the first part of volume 35. But the printing proceeded very slowly: the first two parts of the volume appeared, in a double number, in January 1915; the third part near the end of February. Proofs of the last articles in the fourth part have not yet been received (April 1915).

The Directors of the Society, by letters written in February, gave permission to the Editors to print one volume of the *Journal* in this country, at discretion. On consideration, it seemed to the Editor in charge (Professor Oertel having been in Europe since July 1914) that it would be better not to break through our present arrangement of publication until the need of doing so is more imperative than it is now. In particular it seemed important to give our printers ample notification of any such proposed step. It will be easy to bring our *Journal* up to date next year, by printing simultaneously abroad and in this country, if it proves to be necessary.



The Editors urge the members of the Society to send in manuscripts for the Journal, not only because there is a reasonable prospect that the printing will proceed more rapidly in future, but also because in this time of unusual difficulty the Journal needs and deserves your support.

All of the foregoing reports were severally accepted as presented.

#### ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were elected members of the Society (for convenience the names of those elected at a subsequent session are included in this list):

#### CORPORATE MEMBERS

Mr. James Truslow Adams	Miss M. H. Gaeckler
Mr. William F. Albright	Miss Alice Getty
Mr. Shigeri Araki	Miss Belle da Costa Greene
Dr. Hubert Banning	Miss Ettalene M. Grice
Miss Ethel Beers	Mr. Philip K. Hitti
Miss Effie Bendann	Pres. James A. Kelso
Dr. Romain Butin	Rev. Dr. Frederick Lent
Mr. J. Dudley Carroll	Prof. J. F. McCurdy
Dr. Edward Chiera	Prof. Julius Morgenstern
Mr. Hwang Chung-Huei	Dr. William Frederick Notz
Mr. Roy Joseph Deferrari	Mrs. Charles F. Ostrander
Dr. Viccaji Dinshaw	Mr. P. D. Saklatvala
Rev. Walter Drum	Mrs. A. Saunders
Mrs. Arthur Cecil Edwards	Miss Margaret Thomas
Dr. John F. Fenlon	Dr. Arthur A. Vaschalde

#### ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR 1915-1916

The committee appointed to nominate officers for the year 1915-1916, consisting of Professor Barton, Dr. Nies, and Professor Edgerton, reported thru Professor Barton, as follows:

*President*—Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York.

*Vice-Presidents*—Professor Richard J. H. Gottheil, of New York; President Francis Brown, of New York; Professor James H. Breasted, of Chicago.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Professor Franklin Edgerton, of Philadelphia.

*Recording Secretary*—Dr. George C. O. Haas, of New York.

*Treasurer*—Professor Albert T. Clay, of New Haven.

*Librarian*—Professor Albert T. Clay, of New Haven.

*Directors*—The officers named above, *ex officio*; Professor Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge; Professor Maurice Bloomfield, of Baltimore; Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York; Professor Hanns Oertel, of New Haven; Professor Charles C. Torrey, of New Haven; Professor James A. Montgomery, of Philadelphia; and Professor Leroy C. Barret, of Hartford.

The officers thus nominated were thereupon duly elected.

The business on the calendar being thus concluded, the President delivered the annual address, the subject being 'Older and Later Elements in the Code of Hammurapi'. At five o'clock the Society adjourned for the day.

## SECOND SESSION.

The second session was opened on Friday morning, at 9:50 a. m., with the President, Professor Jastrow, in the chair. Communications were presented as follows:

Mr. W. F. ALBRIGHT, of Johns Hopkins University: The home of Balaam. — Remarks by Professor Haupt and Professor Müller.

Rev. Dr. A. YOHANNAN, of Columbia University, and Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON: Notes regarding the tomb of Tamerlane. — Additional statement by Professor Jackson.

Professor A. T. CLAY, of Yale University: A Sumerian prototype of the Code of Hammurapi. — Remarks by Professor Haupt and Mr. Cunningham; reply by Professor Clay; remarks by Professor Müller.

Dr. E. W. WEST (deceased): A translation of the Pahlavi work 'Wonders of Seistân'. — Presented by title by Professor Jackson.

Professor M. BLOOMFIELD, of Johns Hopkins University: On the meaning and etymology of the Sanskrit root *varj*. — Remarks by Dr. Ogden.

Mr. B. B. MOORE, of New York: Notes of travel in Persia.

Professor M. L. MARGOLIS, of Dropsie College: Kohath, *Kaaθ*. — Remarks by Professor Haupt; question by Professor Bloomfield and reply by the author.

Professor J. D. PRINCE, of Columbia University: Hittite linguistic material in the Cuneiform Inscriptions. — Remarks by Professors Bloomfield, Müller, and Haupt.

Mr. W. H. SCHOFF, of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia: The Eastern iron trade of the Roman empire. — Remarks by Professor Hirth, Dr. von Oefele, and Professor Torrey.

At 12:35 p. m. the Society took a recess until the time fixed for the beginning of the afternoon session.

## THIRD SESSION.

The afternoon session was opened at 3 p. m., the President being in the chair. After the election of two corporate members (included in the list above), the President announced the appointment of Professor H. P. Smith to represent the Society at the 100th anniversary of the founding of Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., June 19-24, 1915. The reading of papers was then resumed, in the following order:

Mrs. A. C. EDWARDS, of Columbia University: Relations between Shah Abbas of Persia and the Moghul emperors Akbar and Jahangir. — Question by Professor Hopkins and reply by the author.

Professor L. C. BARRET, of Trinity College: Greek and Hindu philosophy in their relation to the environments from which they sprang.

Professor J. H. BREASTED, of the University of Chicago: On the history of writing and the origin of the alphabet. (Illustrated with lantern slides.) — Remarks by Professor Müller, Dr. Kyle, and Dr. Nies.

Dr. T. WILLIAMS, of Columbia University: The sluice of Asia Minor: a historical note.—Remarks by Professors Bloomfield and Müller; reply by the author.

Rev. Dr. J. D. STEELE, of Passaic, N. J.: Notes of a visit to Constantinople, Palestine, and Egypt.

Professor P. HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: The cuneiform names of Damascus. — Question by Professor Clay and reply by the author.

Professor F. EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: Early Hindu cosmology and theosophy. — Remarks by Professors Hopkins and Bloomfield.

Dr. C. J. FERGUSON, of Peking, China: Chinese bronzes.

At 5:55 p. m. the Society adjourned for the day.

#### FOURTH SESSION.

The Society met for the fourth session at 9:40 a. m. on Saturday morning. The President, Professor Jastrow, was in the chair. The following communication was presented:

Professor R. G. KENT, of the University of Pennsylvania: Studies in the Old Persian inscriptions. — Remarks by Dr. Ogden and Professors Bloomfield and Jackson.

The Corresponding Secretary announst for the Directors that the next annual meeting would be held at Washington on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of Easter Week, April 24th, 25th, and 26th, 1916. He reported further that the Directors had reappointed Professors Oertel and Torrey as Editors of the Journal for the ensuing year.

The Directors recommended amendments to the Constitution providing for a change in the manner of electing Directors and for the inclusion of the Editors in their number *ex officio*. It was proposed that Articles V and VII should be changed to read as follows:

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, two Editors of the Journal, and nine Directors. The officers shall be elected at the annual meeting, by ballot, for a term of one year. The Directors shall consist of three groups of three members each, one group to be elected each year at the annual meeting for a term

of three years. No Director shall be eligible for immediate re-election as Director, tho he may be chosen as an officer of the Society.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, the Treasurer, the Librarian, and the two Editors of the Journal shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

Upon motion the amendments proposed were adopted without a single dissenting vote.

The President then announst the following appointments:

*Committee of Arrangements for 1916:* Professor Hyvernât, President Fenlon, Dr. Casanovicz, and the Corresponding Secretary.

*Committee on Nominations:* President Francis Brown, Professor Margolis, and Mr. Dennis.

*Auditors:* Professors Williams and Torrey.

The reading of communications was then resumed, as follows:

MR. F. A. CUNNINGHAM, of Merchantville, N. J.: Berossus and the date of the Deluge.

The President askt Professor Gottheil to take the chair for a time. The reading of papers was continued.

MR. J. T. DENNIS, of Baltimore: Notes regarding some Oriental seals. — Remarks by Mr. Hwang Chung-Huei.

Professor C. C. TORREY, of Yale University: A Syriac analogue of the Flying Dutchman. — Remarks by Dr. von Oefele and Professor Edgerton.

Dr. C. J. OGDEN, of New York: Notes on the Svapnavāsavadattā of Bhāsa.

Dr. A. EMBER, of Johns Hopkins University: New Semito-Egyptian words. — Remarks by Professors Breasted and Haupt, Dr. von Oefele, Professors Jastrow and Bloomfield; additional remarks by the author.

On motion the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to express its hearty thanks to the President and Trustees of Columbia University for the opportunity of meeting within its halls, to the New York members of the Society for their generous hospitality, and to the efficient Committee of Arrangements for the thoughtful provision made for the entertainment of the members.

The President resumed the chair and made a few concluding remarks. The Society adjourned at 12:05 p. m., to meet again in Washington on April 24, 1916.

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The following communications were presented by title:

MR. W. F. ALBRIGHT: (a) The conclusion of Esarhaddon's Broken Prism; (b) Some unexplained cuneiform words.

Professor G. A. BARTON: (a) Osiris and Tammuz; (b) Some observations on the new King-lists from Nippur.

Dr. F. R. BLAKE: (a) Mixed constructions in Hebrew and Aramaic; (b) The etymology of Aramaic *tth*, 'to be'; (c) The syntax of Hebrew numerals and numeral expressions.

Professor M. BLOOMFIELD: On the laugh-and-ery motif in Hindu fiction.

Professor C. E. CONANT: Grammatical notes on the Isinai language (Philippines).

Dr. V. DINSHAW: Deccan parallels to the Burj-Nāmāh.

Professor F. EDGERTON: (a) Notes on the Sixth Prapāṭhaka of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad; (b) A critique of Hertel's theories on the Pañcatantra.

Dr. A. EMBER: (a) A Semitic loan-word in Latin; (b) Semitic words surviving in Egyptian sign-values.

Professor E. W. FAY: Adversaria etymologica.

Professor R. J. H. GOTTHEIL: An old papyrus fragment with Arabic seals.

Professor P. HAUPT: (a) Arabic *samm*, 'poison' — Sumerian *šem*, *špuma*; (b) The Assyrian terms for 'sport'; (c) Hebrew *leq*, 'saucy', and *melig*, 'interpreter'.

Professor A. V. W. JACKSON: Indo-Iranian notes.

Mr. W. S. KUPFER: Some questions relative to the Kautiliya Arthasāstra.

Mr. P. B. POPENOE: The propagation of the date-palm: materials for a lexicographical study in Arabic.

Rev. Dr. W. ROSENAU: Who are the Falashas?

Capt. C. C. SMITH: Mindanao studies.

Professor C. C. TORREY: A new interpretation of portions of the Zakar Inscription.

Dr. W. H. WORRELL: Ink-gazing and similar practices among modern Egyptians.















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